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A  
**HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR**

BY

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## CHAPTER V

### PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

- I. **PERSONAL PRONOUNS.**—390. The personal pronoun as subject.—391. Origin of the direct interrogative idiom.—392. Substitution of the objective form for the nominative.—393. The personal pronoun as object.—394. The reflexive pronoun *soi* (*se*).—395. The pronouns *le, la, les, lui, leur*.—396. Use of plural forms to denote a singular.—397. Expletive use of personal pronouns (ethical dative).—398. Periphrastic substitutes for personal pronouns.—399. The adverbial pronouns *en* and *y*.
- II. **POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.**—400. Possessive pronouns and adjectives.—401. Possessive replaced by the article.—402. Use of the possessive of the third person.—403. Possessives relating to one or more substantives.—404. Use of possessives in the objective sense.
- III. **DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.**—405. Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.—406. The pronoun *celui*.—407. The neuter pronoun *ce*.—408. The use of *cet* and *cela*.—409. The adjective-pronouns *ce, cet, celle, ces*.
- IV. **RELATIVE PRONOUNS.**—410. *Qui, que*.—411. *Quoi*.—412. *Lequel*.—413. *Dont*.—414. *Où*.—415. The relative adverb *que*.
- V. **INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.**—416. *Qui*.—417. *Que, quoi*.—418. *Quel, lequel*.

#### I. Personal Pronouns.

**390. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN AS SUBJECT.**—I. The personal pronoun as the subject in the Old language, following Latin traditions, was often omitted. It was rarely expressed save when either the verb or a personal pronoun in the objective would otherwise have headed the sentence:

*Dist Olivier: Jo ai paiens vedus. (Rol. l. 1039.)*

(Said Oliver: I have pagans seen.)

*Jo (Je) l'ai laissié (laissé) en une marche estrange. (id. l. 839.)*

(I have left him in a foreign mark [district].)

When, on the contrary—and such cases were very frequent—the proposition began with a direct (and not





pronominal) or an indirect object, a participial or adjective predicate, or an indeclinable word, or when it was preceded by another proposition, the ellipsis of the pronominal subject was general: *Par son cors (corps) les peust (pût) délivrer de prison* (in person he might be able to free them from prison) (Joinv. 9). *En grant avanture de mort fumes lors (alors)* (in great danger of death we were then) (id. 11). *Envieus estes et vilains* (envious are ye and bad) (Chev. au lion, l. 90). *Comander vos vuel (voux) et prier* (I wish to command and pray you) (id. l. 549). *Or vous vueil faire une demande* (now I wish to make a request of you) (Joinv. 48).

We have seen (Book II, § 193) that the gradual weakening of verbal inflexions rendered more and more imperative the presence of the nominative personal pronoun to denote the grammatical person. Nevertheless, we find numerous examples of the older usage in the 16th century. *Et le feray imprimer à ce que chascun y apreigne (apprenne) comme je ay faist* (and I will print it that every-one may there learn, as I have done) (Rab. i. 320). *Ny ne veux gaster (gâter) ses meurs genereuses* (nor would I spoil his noble manners) (Mont. i. 25). *Il te gardera sous son aïse, et seras a seureté sous ses plumies* (he will keep thee under his wing and thou wilt be in safety beneath his feathers) (Calvin, 264). *L'autre se plaint que jaloux mary a* (the other complains that she has a jealous husband) (Marot, 10). In the 17th century, particularly in La Fontaine, we still meet with examples of the omission of the nominative pronoun, but these are archaisms. Ever since Malherbe the use of the nominative pronoun has become an absolute rule in most constructions. We must, however, note two exceptions.

1. In certain impersonal phrases the pronoun *il*, as the grammatical or logical subject, is still suppressed. *Tant y a que. N'importe* (no matter). *Si bon vous semble* (if you think proper). *D'où vient que . . .* (whence comes it that).

*A Dieu ne plaise* (God forbid). *Cinq et trois font huit ; ôtez deux, reste six* (5 and 3 are 8 ; take 2 away, 6 remains). These are remnants of the primitive construction. Analogy, which from the middle of the 12th century (Book II, § 198) had extended to all impersonal verbs the pronoun *il* of the personal verbs, failed to affect these expressions. In the 16th century other cases of omission of this pronoun were still very frequent. But, save for the above archaisms, the omission was rare in the 17th century: *De cette confusion arrive* (from this confusion it befalls) (Pascal, *Pensées*, i. 93). *Mais à quoi sert, mes Pères, d'opposer . . . ?* (but what is the use, Fathers, of opposing . . . ?) (Id. *Prov.* xvi.). *Et quels avantages, Madame, puisque Madame y a ?* (and what advantages, Madam, since Madam there is [=you are]?) (Molière, vi. 519). La Fontaine alone has a real predilection for this ellipsis: *N'a pas longtenps* (not long ago) (iv. 85). *Comment vous va ?* (how goes it ?) (vii. 128). *Non sera, sur mon âme* (it shall not be, on my soul) (iv. 346). *Toujours falloit forger de nouveaux tours* (it was ever necessary to devise new tricks) (iv. 302), &c.

2. In compound propositions containing two consecutive verbs with one and the same subject, the pronoun may be expressed only once, i. e. before the first verb: *J'admets et prétends* (I believe and maintain); *il désire et demande* (he prays and demands)—an archaism which the language could preserve without inconvenience, the construction being sufficiently clear. But this ellipsis is scarcely tolerated save when the verbs are in the same tense, and when they are not far from each other; we should no longer, like Racine, write: *Je le recueillis ici et l'ai nourri avec grand soin* (I took him up here and have nourished him with great care) (vi. 100), nor, like Madame de Sévigné: '*Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi,*' *lui fit-elle, en lui riant au nez ; 'voilà comment on répond aux folles,' et passe son chemin* ('*Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi,*' she said to her, laughing in her face ; 'that's the way to answer fools,' and goes her way) (iii. 3).







II. If the Old language often omitted the nominative pronoun, on the other hand it frequently made a redundant use of the nominative pronoun of the 3rd person to recall a subject already expressed, but generally one separated from its verb: *Li roys de France qui sot que ils estoient la, il s'adreça* (the King of France, who knew that they were there, he turned) (Joinv. 85). *Les sciences qui reglent les mœurs des hommes . . . elles se meslent de tout* (the sciences that govern the conduct of men . . . they meddle with everything) (Mont. i. 29). Even in the 17th and 18th centuries we find: *Un noble, s'il vit chez lui, dans sa province, il vit libre* (a noble, if he lives at home, in his province, he lives free) (La Bruy. i. 326). *Les Romains se destinant à la guerre et la regardant comme le seul art, ils mirent tout leur esprit et toutes leurs pensées à le perfectionner* (the Romans, intending to devote themselves to war, and regarding it as the only art, they set all their wit and all their thoughts on perfecting it) (Montesquieu, *Grand. et Déc.* 2).

III. The plural pronoun *ils*, in the 16th and 17th centuries, was often used [like the English impersonal *they*] as a synonym of *on*: *Ils demeurèrent plus tard qu'ils n'avoient de coustume* (they stayed longer than they were wont) (Noel du Fail, ii. 311). *J'allègue . . . aussi volontiers ce que j'ay veu, que ce qu'ils ont escrit* (I put forth as readily what I have seen as what they have written) (Mont. iii. 13). *Pour le regard de ce qu'ils disent* (with regard to what people say) (Malh. ii. 106).

*De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit.*

. . . *Madame, ils ne vous croiront pas;*

*Ils sauront récuser l'injuste stratagème*

*D'un témoin irrité qui s'accuse lui-même.*

(Rac. ii. 295.)

(I desire that our common crimes may be made known.

. . . *Madam, they will not believe you;*

*They will have the capacity to reject the unjust stratagem*

*Of an angry witness accusing himself.)*

This is really a Latinism. In Latin a verb with an indefinite subject was put in the 3rd person plural: *dicunt* (*they*

say, *people say*); so in Old French the 3rd person plural without a pronominal subject expressed the indefinite idea conveyed at the present time by *on*: *Et mult en orent (eurent) grant joie par l'ost (and great joy had they thereof throughout the army)* (Villeh. 299). When the habit of expressing the nominative pronoun enforced itself in French, the pronoun *ils* was naturally used in this case.

IV. The neuter pronoun *il* (= *it*) was still in the 17th century of more general use than in the modern language, where it is now replaced as a rule by the demonstrative *ce* (§ 407): *Quand cela paraîtra, je ne doute point qu'il ne donne matière aux critiques (when it appears, I doubt not but that it will give matter to the critics)* (Corn. x. 486).

*A-t-on jamais plaidé d'une telle méthode?*

*Mais qu'en dit l'assemblée?—Il est fort à la mode.* (Rac. ii. 211.)

(Did one ever plead on such a plan?

But what does the assembly say to it?—It is much in vogue.)

*Peut-être cela étoit-il vrai, mais il n'étoit pas vraisemblable (perhaps it was true, but it did not seem like truth)* (Sév. vii. 199). *Goûtez bien cela; il est de Léandre et il ne me coûte qu'un grand merci (taste well of this; it comes from Leander, and it only costs me a big 'thank you')* (La Bruy. i. 194).

The present usage only preserves *il* when the impersonal proposition is determined by some object or complement. Compare: *il est vrai + que j'ai eu tort* and *c'est vrai; il + en + est ainsi* and *c'est ainsi*.

### 391. ORIGIN OF THE DIRECT INTERROGATIVE IDIOM.—

When the interrogation depends only on the verb the nominative pronoun is placed either (1) after the verb: *Vient-il?* or (2) before the verb: *Il vient?* In the latter case the tone of voice suffices to indicate the question. But when the interrogation does not turn on the verb the nominative pronoun always comes after: *Quand arriverez-vous? D'où viennent-ils? Que faisons-nous?* For French,

not having preserved the Latin interrogative particles, had recourse to the inversion of the subject: *Viendra Pierre?* and pronouns were treated as substantives and also placed after the verb:

*Ço dist Rollans : 'Compains, que faites-vous !' (Rol. l. 1360.)*

(This said Roland: 'Companions, what do ye!')

*Gentils quens (comte), sire vaillant hom, ou ies (es) tu ! (id. l. 2045.)*

(Fair count, sir valiant man, where art thou !)

The post-position of the subject when it is a substantive has not been maintained in the case where the interrogation turns on the verb. If we still say: *Quand viendra Pierre?* we no longer say: *Viendra Pierre?* This latter form of phrase was already a mere archaism in the 16th century:

*Las ! pourra bien ceste blanche vieilllesse*

*Porter le fais (saix) d'une telle tristesse ?*

(Th. de Bèze, *Abraham*, p. 33.)

(Alas! can this white old age at all

Carry the burden of such a sorrow!)

We say *Pierre viendra-t-il?* and similarly the form of phrase still in use: *Quand viendra Pierre?* may be replaced by *Quand Pierre viendra-t-il?*

Whence comes this use of the personal pronoun after the verb as its logical subject in interrogative propositions? At an early period in Old French it became habitual in interrogations to place the nominative at the beginning of the sentence:

*Damoiselles que j'ai venues*

*En cest chastel dont (d'où) sont venues ?*

(Chev. au lion, l. 519.)

(The damsels I have seen

In this castle, whence did they come!)

*Tu que quiers ? (what seekest thou?) (Cour. Louis, l. 512).*

*Et vous, qui estes ? (and who are ye?) (Théât. franç., 146).*

This new form of phrase introduced by the growing tendency of French to give the sentence a uniform construction, with the subject at its head, was, on the other hand, in contradiction with the logical need of beginning

an interrogation with the verb; hence at an early period a pronoun referring to the subject already expressed was added after the verb:

*L'avoir Charlon est-il appareillies?* (Rol. I. 643.)

(The treasure for Charles, is it made ready?)

This construction became more and more frequent from the 13th century; but gradually the true part played by the prefixed substantive, as intended to bring the subject into relief, was lost sight of. The substantive was looked upon as the real subject of the verb, and the pronoun coming after, from being the real subject as it was at first, took the part of a logical subject<sup>1</sup>.

**392. SUBSTITUTION OF THE OBJECTIVE FORM FOR THE NOMINATIVE.**—Pronouns are either *accented* or *atonic* (Book II, § 193). In Old French all nominative pronouns were accented. The writers of the first half of the 16th century still offer us many examples of this usage, although it was nearly lost in the 15th century: *Pour ce que je Mercure ay cogneu que* (for that I, Mercury, have known that) (Le Maire de Belges, 1). *Tu princesse pacifique* (thou, peaceful princess) (id. 2). *Je auserois jurer qu'ils autres foys avoient Andouilles combatu* (I would dare swear that they had formerly fought the Andouilles) (Rabel. ii. 406). Of this form the language has only retained the legal formula *Je soussigné* (I, the undersigned). From the 12th century, as we have seen, these nominative pronouns began to be treated as atonics or proclitics, and to be transformed into simple substitutes for the verbal inflexions, which had become too weak to express grammatical persons. The nominative pronouns thus became proclitics or flexional prefixes in replacement of the lost flexional suffixes of the verb.

But in many cases it is necessary to give stronger expression to the idea inherent to the pronoun, to lay stress

<sup>1</sup> For the periphrastic interrogative idioms so common in Modern French see §§ 416, 417.

on the idea of the person who is the subject of the action. Thus from the 12th century also, that is from the time when the personal pronoun began to become atonic, the language had recourse to the accented form of the objective pronoun to express this emphasized state. Compare line 2501 of the *Chevalier au lion* :

*S'irons tornoier moi et vos.*  
(We will go tourney, I and you.)

with the two following lines of the same poem :

*Tu, fet (fit) la dame, qui tant ses.* (l. 6576.)  
(‘Thou,’ said the lady, ‘who knowest so much.’)

*Que il et tuit (tous) si chevalier*  
*Venissent.* (l. 2303.)

(That he and all his knights should come.)

The language is at this period wavering between the use of the accented forms of the nominative and of the objective pronoun, to mark emphasis. This wavering was destined to end gradually, and from the second half of the 16th century the objective was definitely adopted : *moi, je dis ; toi, tu dis ; lui, il dit, &c.*<sup>1</sup>

The example quoted of Chrestien de Troyes, *S'irons tornoier moi et vos*, shows that when the Old language used for emphasis the accented form of the object it did not express the pronoun a second time (as in Modern French). It is in virtue of this construction that we find in the 17th century :

*Et nous de qui les cœurs sont enclins aux forfaits*  
*Laissons languir sa gloire.* (La Font. vi. 289.)

(And we, whose hearts to misdeeds are inclined,  
Allow his glory to fade.)

*Peut-être que moi qui existe n'existe ainsi que par la*

<sup>1</sup> [Compare the similar use of the objective for the nominative in popular English speech (x) after ‘and,’ ‘than,’ ‘as,’ &c., as the complement of the verb ‘to be’ : ‘It’s him and me,’ ‘Better than him,’ ‘As good as her,’ ‘It’s me’ ; or (s) isolated, with the rest of the sentence understood, as in the answer to the question ‘who ?’ : ‘Who’s knocking ?—Me.’]

*force d'une nature universelle* (perhaps *I, who exist, do so exist only by force of a universal nature*) (La Bruy. ii. 253). It was the same when the nominative pronoun was co-ordinate with one or several substantives: *Li roys et nous qui estions avec li demourei . . . feismes* (*fîmes*) *voile* (*the king and we who had stayed with him . . . set sail*) (Joinv. 148). *Le duc de Luynes, Noirmoustier et moi, fûmes lieutenants généraux* (*the duke of Luynes, Noirmoustier, and I were lieutenants-general*) (La Rochef. ii. 121).

*Vous et les miens avez mérité pis.* (La Font. iv. 350.)  
(You and my folk have deserved worse.)

The repetition of the nominative pronoun before the verb in such cases as these came into use only in the 14th century, and, as we have seen, only by degrees; we now say *moi, j'arriverai demain*; but it is not yet obligatory in the second case, where a pronoun is co-ordinated with one or more substantives; we may still say quite correctly: *mes frères et moi arriverons demain*, as well as: *mes frères et moi nous arriverons demain*<sup>1</sup>.

393. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN AS OBJECT.—Many of the uses of the accented objective forms of the personal pronouns have been lost in the modern language. All, however, appear when the construction is emphatic, as, for instance, when introduced by the phrases *c'est, est-ce: c'est moi que tu appelles, c'est à toi que je pense; c'est pour lui que je travaille, &c.* *Moi* and *toi* are used as the direct objects of a positive imperative: *aime-moi, pousse-toi*. Besides *moi* and *toi, lui, nous, vous, and leur* are used as the indirect objects of a positive imperative with or without a preposition: *écris-moi, écris-nous, écris-leur, pense à*

<sup>1</sup> In the 17th century such phrases often present only the atonic form unaccompanied by the accented; but then the pronoun must head the sentence, while the verb agrees with the pronoun only: *Je me porte bien, Dieu merci, et toute la famille* (*I am well, thank God, and all the family*) (Rac. vii. 245).



moi, *pense à nous, pense à eux* (*leur = à eux*; see Book II, p. 306). The insertion of *à* before the indirect object depends on whether the finite parts of the verb take the indirect object in its accented form with *à*, or in its atonic form: *pense à moi* corresponds with *il pense à moi*, *écris-moi* with *il m'écrit*.

These distinctions were scarcely known to the Old language: on the contrary, until the 14th century the accented forms were employed for both the accusative and dative, optionally with the finite parts of the verb, regularly with an infinitive or a gerundive: *conseillierent soi* (*they deliberated*) (Villeh. 24). *Il moi samble* (*me-seems*) (Joinv. 406). It was not until the 16th century that the modern rule was established; but in the writers of that period we find scarcely any examples of the ancient usage. They still however retained the power of using the pronoun *soi* according to the old rule, and this more frequently with an infinitive or a gerundive than with the finite parts of the verb: *Pantagrue soy complaignoit de ceste guerre* (*Pantagrue complained of this war*) (Rab. ii. 416). *Soy embarquant pour faire voille* (*embarking to make sail*) (id. i. 183). This usage may also be found in La Fontaine:

*Tant ne songeoient au service divin  
Qu'à soi montrer.* (iv. 448.)

(Not so much of divine service they thought  
As of displaying themselves.)

The accented form is still in use when a verb has two co-ordinate direct objects, one at least of which is a personal pronoun; but in this case the pronoun is first expressed in its atonic form before the verb: *nous t'aimons, toi et ton frère*; or *nous vous aimons, toi et ton frère*, or *vous et lui*. This repetition of the pronoun has been long in use; we find it already in Villehardouin: *Diex les nos laira* (*laissera*) *conquerre ensemble nos et els* (*God will let us, us and them, win them together*) (63). *Vos l'avez tant servi et moi et lui* (*you have served him so well, both me and him*) (189).

But it was only gradually introduced<sup>1</sup>. As regards the use of accented forms with prepositions we must note—

1. That in Modern French, and indeed already in Old French, the adverbial pronouns *en* and *y* have replaced certain periphrases formed by personal pronouns preceded by the prepositions *de* and *en* (§ 399).

2. That the uses of the analytical dative (i. e. with the preposition expressed) are less numerous in the Modern than in the Old language. In the 17th century expressions such as *parler à moi, à toi, attacher à soi, être semblable à toi, à lui, &c.*, were still in vogue.

394. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN *soi* (sə).—I. The reflexive pronoun *soi* implies the relation of identity with the subject of the 3rd person. In present usage it is only used (1) in the atonic form *sə*, in reflexive or pronominal verbs; (2) in the accented form *soi*, (i) after a preposition: *Chacun pour soi*; (ii) after *ne, ne . . . que, comme, que*: *Nul n'est prophète chez soi. N'aimer que soi. Aimer son prochain comme soi-même* (to love one's neighbour as oneself).

*On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi.* (La Font. i. 16a.)  
(One often needs one smaller than oneself.)

or (iii) as predicate: *Il faut toujours être soi* (a man must always be himself). The use of the accented form *soi* is also restricted to a person undetermined (*on*, or an equivalent) or an inanimate object. Until the end of the 17th century it was not so:

*Quels démons, quels serpents traîne-t-elle après soi?* (Rac. ii. 124.)  
(What demons, what serpents, drags she in her train?)

*Il porte de l'argent sur soi* (he carries money on his

<sup>1</sup> Like the nominative, the objective often occurs alone in its atonic form in the 17th century (see note, p. 626):

*To confondent les dieux et toute sa suite!* (La Font. vii. 42.)  
(The gods confound thee and all thy following!)

person) (La Bruy. i. 69). If the following line of Corneille (iii. 529) does not strike us as incorrect :

*Qu'il fasse autant pour soi comme je fais pour lui*  
(Let him do as much for himself as I do for him),

it is that the use of *lui* instead of *soi* would have here been impossible. With the name of a thing *soi* is the rule: *L'aimant attire le fer à soi* (the magnet attracts iron towards itself); unless the noun is feminine and may be personified: *Les maux que la guerre traîne après elle* (the ills that war drags in her train).

Thus the tendency of the language has been in general to restrict the use of *soi* in favour of *lui* and *elle*. The modern usage is to be found as early as the 12th century.

II. *Se, soi*, are not exclusively singular forms; we say for instance: *ces personnages se plaisent*; *ces soi-disant personnages*. It would then still be correct to say as Molière did :

*Ce sont choses de soi qui sont belles et bonnes.* (ix. 166.)

(They are things which in themselves are beautiful and good.)

or as Massillon did: *Tant de profanations que les armes traînent toujours après soi* (so many profanations that arms drag ever in their train) (*Petit Carême, Bénéd. des drapeaux*). However, we cannot deny the present tendency of the language to substitute *lui, elle, eux, elles*, for *soi* when the subject is the name of a thing in the plural. *Les regrets que les fautes traînent après elles*. Hence, certain of our present grammarians declare that *soi* is always singular.

394 a. [Corresponding in function to the indefinite nominative substantive on (Book II, § 141) we have *se, soi*, as we have seen, used only as reflexive objectives. The form corresponding to *on* for an object, direct or indirect, distinct from the subject, is *vous*: *le feu vous brûle* (fire burns one); *les coups vous font mal* (blows hurt one).]

395. THE PRONOUNS *le, la, les, lui, leur*.—I. 1. *Le, la, lui, leur*, as objectives relate to a neighbouring substantive: *Voyez-vous cet homme, cette femme? Je le vois, je la vois, je les vois. Mon père m'ayant écrit, je lui ai répondu. Vos parents sont absents; leur avez-vous écrit?*

These objective pronouns were often in Old French, and as late as the 18th century, used redundantly to give greater clearness to long sentences: *Presque toutes les choses que nous estimons icy tant, et les tenons nous avoir este premicrement revelees et envoyees du ciel, estoient en creance* (nearly all those things which we esteem so much here, and hold [them] to have been first revealed and sent from heaven to us, were believed) (Le Charron, *Sagesse*, 316). *Ce qu'il faut entendre un peu plus généralement que les termes ne semblent porter et l'étendre à la réconciliation de toute sorte de mauvaise intelligence* (which we must understand in a somewhat more general sense than the words seem to convey, and extend [it] to the reconciliation of all kinds of misunderstanding) (Corn. i. 27). *Défaut naturel au sexe qu'on doit combattre de bonne heure et non l'entretenir et l'augmenter en s'y livrant* (a defect natural to the sex, which one should combat betimes, and not keep [it] up and increase [it] by giving way to it) (Rollin, *Traité des Études*, i. ch. ii. 2).

2. The logical neuter *le (it)* relates either to a neuter pronoun: *ce que vous dites, je le comprends* (what you say, I understand [it]); or to an infinitive understood: *travaillez puisque vous le pouvez* (work, since you are able to [do it]); or to a preceding proposition: *l'affaire est autre que je ne le pensais* (the affair is other than I thought [it]). The last construction has been utilized to modify the sense of a certain number of verbs, the active verb having been transformed into an intransitive by the addition of the neuter *le*: *emporter* = to carry; *l'emporter* = 'to carry it off,' i.e. to win [compare 'to bring off' with the slang phrase 'to bring it off'].

3. In the Old language *le, la, les*, and the logical neuter *le*, as direct objects, were frequently dropped when the proposition contained *lui* or *leur* (or also *vous*) as the indirect object: *Et lors fu a toz ceste parole retraite si con l'empereore<sup>1</sup> lor ot requise* (and then this question [word] was repeated to all, just as the emperor had required [it] of them) (Villeh. 196). This ellipsis was still very frequent in the 17th century: *Le pape envoya le Formulaire tel qu'on<sup>1</sup> lui demandoit* (the Pope sent the Formulary just as they asked [it] of him) (Rac. iv. 567). *Comme les hommes ne se dégoûtent point du vice, il ne faut pas aussi se lasser de<sup>1</sup> leur reprocher* (as men do not become disgusted with vice, so we must not weary of reproaching them [with it]) (La Bruy. i. 105). *S'ils n'ont plus d'esprit que ne<sup>1</sup> porte leur condition* (unless they have more wit than befits their condition (id. i. 349). As late as the 18th century we find:

*Je ne suis point ingrate et je<sup>1</sup> lui rendrai bien.*

(Gresset, *Le Méch.* Act I, Sc. a.)

(I am not ungrateful, and will repay him well [for it].)

This ellipsis was condemned by Vaugelas, who only authorized the suppression of the objective pronoun with an infinitive preceded by a preposition, a suppression which is still sometimes tolerated in Modern French in colloquial phrases like this: *Il ne fut pas difficile de trouver un homme pour [le omitted] mettre à sa place* (it was not difficult to find a man to put in his place).

4. The Modern language requires that when the substantive represented by the objective pronoun is taken in an indeterminate sense the neuter pronoun *le* must be used, and never *la*, even when the substantive is feminine. Vaugelas is responsible for the following rule: 'The pronoun is, as it were, a thing fixed and attached, and the noun without an article or with an indefinite article is like a thing vague and floating in the air, to which nothing can

<sup>1</sup> In contemporary French *le* would be inserted here.

be attached' (i. p. 87). This rule was far from being observed even in the 17th century :

*Permettes qu'il achève et je ferai justice.*

*J'aime à la rendre à tous, à toute heure en tout lieu.*

(Corn. iii. 347.)

(Allow him to finish, and I will do justice.

It is my pleasure to render it to all, always and everywhere.)

*Je n'ai pas encore choisi de lecture, je vous la manderai*  
(I have not yet chosen a book to read, I will let you know it  
[when I do]) (Sév. vi. 434). *Tout est tentation à qui la craint*  
(everything is temptation to him who fears it) (id. i. 180)<sup>1</sup>.

5. We must note, finally, a use more frequent in Old than in Modern French, where a following proposition is introduced by the neuter *le* : *Henris le sot (sut) . . . que mult grans os venoit sor lui* (Henry knew this, that a very great host was coming against him) (Villeh. 322). *Et Diex le dist de sa bouche que il ont pouvoir de li donner à nous* (and God said it with His mouth that they have the power to give Him to us) (Joinv. 450).

*Je l'avois bien prévu que pour un tel ouvrage*

*Cinna sauroit choisir des hommes de courage.*

(Corn. iii. 391.)

(I had well foreseen that for such a work

Cinna would have the capacity to choose men of courage.)

*Qui l'eût dit, qu'un rivage, à mes yeux si féroce,*

*Prienteroit d'abord Pylade aux yeux d'Oreste?* (Rac. ii. 41.)

(Who would have thought a shore so fatal in my sight

Would first present Pylades to Orestes' eyes?)

II. (a) *Le, la, les*, used as predicates agree in gender and number, but not in case, with the substantives they represent : *Êtes-vous la reine?—Je la suis. Êtes-vous les frères de mon ami?—Nous les sommes.* And not: *Je suis elle; nous sommes eux.* This strange use is due to the

<sup>1</sup> This other example from La Bruyère: *S'il a de la laideur, elle ne fait pas son impression* (if he has ugliness, it does not produce its effect) (ii. 94), where we should now substitute *cela* for *elle*, shows that this use of the personal for the logical pronoun also applied where the pronoun representing an indeterminate substantive was the subject.

fact that the verb *être* in French puts its predicate, when a pronoun, in the accusative. Compare the sentence: *Malheureux que nous sommes!* not *malheureux qui nous sommes!*

(b) When the pronoun is used as a predicate to replace either an adjective, a noun taken in an indeterminate sense, or a proposition, we use the logical neuter *le*. *Êtes-vous habile?—Je le suis. Êtes-vous reine?—Je le suis. Serez-vous satisfaite?—Je le serai.* This rule has only been in full force since the 18th century, although Vaugelas laid it down in the preceding century. Examples of *le*, *la*, *les*, used where we should now use the neuter *le*, abound in the 17th century. The grammarian Restaut (1774) says that, in his time, women persisted in saying: *J'ai été malade, je la suis encore; Êtes-vous malades?—Nous les sommes;* and Piron, in the first edition of his *Métromanie* (1738), still wrote:

*J'étais indifférente et je ne la suis plus.*

*Et je sais que sans vous je la serois encore.* (Act IV, Sc. 8.)

(I was indifferent, and I am so no more;

And I know without you I should be so still.)

396. USE OF PLURAL FORMS TO DENOTE A SINGULAR.—The usage of Imperial Rome introduced the tradition, perpetuated among all modern nations, of this use of the plural, called *plural of majesty*. The Roman emperors, from Diocletian onward, in order to increase their importance, said *nos* instead of *ego* when speaking of themselves<sup>1</sup>. The example, coming from above, spread downwards, and extended the usage of the plural of the 1st and 2nd persons where the singular was alone recognized by ancient custom. *Vos* is used instead of *tu* in the very earliest French texts. However, it must be noted that the Old language passes backwards and forwards with much greater ease than the Modern language between *vous* and

<sup>1</sup> [Cicero, in his letters as well as his speeches, and the poets, frequently use *nos* for the 1st person singular. But there is no classical example of the plural form for the 2nd person singular.]

*tu* in the same dialogue ; present usage only admits this variation in a few special and well-defined cases <sup>1</sup>.

At the present day *tu* is used in the language of intimacy, affection, passion, contempt, and also by superiors to inferiors <sup>2</sup>. With regard to this point the correspondence of changes of usage with certain changes in manners deserves study.

By the influence of the Bible (for Hebrew only recognizes 'thouing') *tu* has been kept up in addressing God and the saints ; and, in poetry, in addressing earthly powers. The influence of the manners of the Court of Louis XIV led to the almost complete oblivion of *tu*, &c., by Racine in his tragedies.

As far as the syntax is concerned we note that, while the verb takes this formal plural of the subject, the attribute does not, but is in the singular: *Vous êtes bon, vous êtes bonne* ; although in Latin in this case it was in the plural. With a real plural, the language gives no clue as to whether the singular would require *tu* or *vous*: *vous êtes bons, bonnes*, in the plural, corresponds to the two singular forms *tu es bon, bonne*, and *vous êtes bon, bonne*.

**397. EXPLETIVE USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS (ETHICAL DATIVE).**—Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, corresponding to the so-called 'ethical dative' in Latin, are often used as expletives: *Je vais te (or vous) le fustiger d'importance* (*I'll give him a sound drubbing for you*).

*Prends-moi le bon parti; laisse-là tous les livres.*

(Boileau, *Sat. VIII*, l. 179.)

(Choose me the good part; lay all your books aside.)

<sup>1</sup> [Catholics use the singular form in prayers but rarely; it is universal in Protestant French religious diction.]

<sup>2</sup> [But, once *tutoiement* is set up, it is not easily abandoned; thus servants who have known their employers from infancy in some cases 'thou' them when adult; and the same may hold for former school-fellows, fellow-privates, &c., despite ultimate social position. The use by superiors to inferiors is at present rare, and in most cases implies contemptuous intention.]



*Faites-moi taire ces gens-là. Allons, Monsieur, faites le dû de votre charge et dressez-lui-moi son procès comme larron et comme suborneur* (*Hush me those folk. Come, sir, perform the duty of your charge, and draw me [him] up his indictment as a thief and a suborner*) (Mol. vii. 192).

*On lui lia les pieds, on vous le suspendit.* (La Font. i. 201.)<sup>1</sup>  
(They bound his feet and hanged him up for you.)

This use of an expletive, which serves in some way to emphasize the interest of the person speaking, or the supposed interest of the person spoken to, with respect to the matter in question, was already in constant use in Latin. Old French recognized it, more especially with the pronoun of the 1st person :

*Franc chevalier, dist l'empereur Charles,  
Car m'eslises un baron de ma marche.* (Rol. i. 274.)  
(‘Brave knights,’ said the emperor Charles,  
‘Now choose you me a baron of my mark [district].’)

However, we may point out the expletive *vous* in the locutions *es vos, es les vos* (Book II, p. 308, note 3).

**398. PERIPHRASTIC SUBSTITUTES FOR PERSONAL PRONOUNS.**—The Old language often made use of a periphrase instead of a personal pronoun. Instead of *moi, toi, soi, lui, &c., mon corps, les membres, son nom, sa jouvente (jeunesse), sa chair, sa personne, &c.*, were used.

*Je conduirai mon cors (corps) en Rancesvals.* (Rol. i. 892.)  
(I will betake myself to Roncesvalles.)

*Sen la merci le roi vos membres ne metis.*  
(Ren. de Montauban, 236.)  
(If you put not your limbs at the mercy of the king.)

*La jouvente du roy ont tost (tôt) ensevelis.*  
(Beaud. de Seb. xxiii. 886.)  
(They quickly buried the king's folk.)

In these three examples *mon cors, vos membres*, and

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Shakespeare :

‘Knock me at this gate,  
And rap me well.’

*Taming of the Shrew*, Act I, Sc. 2.]

*jouvenile* are mere equivalents of the pronouns *moi*, *vous*, *eux*. This usage is lost, save with the two words *corps* and *personne* in the expressions: *à son corps défendant* (against his will), *venir en personne* (to come in person), *parlant à sa personne* (speaking to him in person).

399. THE ADVERBIAL PRONOUNS *EN* AND *Y*.—The adverbs *en* and *y* have gradually acquired a pronominal value.

**EN. I.** The adverbial function of *en* is still to be found in cases where it recalls a whole preceding proposition, and so shows a relation of cause: *Faites cela, je vous en aimerai davantage* (do this, and I will love you the better for it).

It is, moreover, felt in a great many expressions where *en* does not represent a special word, but expresses some vague connexion: *n'en pouvoir mais* (not to be able to do more, i.e. to help it<sup>1</sup>), *c'en est fait* (it's all up with it), &c. The present language has a tendency to swell the number of these locutions. In the 17th century the following were still commonly used: *se tenir à* (to stop at), *il est ainsi* (it is so), *demeurer là* (to stop there), *se prendre à* (to take to task), *vouloir à* (to have a grudge against), *avoir à* (to have a fault to find with), *imposer à* (to impose upon), &c., where we now say: *s'en tenir à*, *il en est ainsi*, *en demeurer là*, *s'en prendre à*, *en vouloir à*, *en avoir à*, *en imposer à*, &c.

**II.** As a true pronoun *en* denotes :

**A.** Possession (= *thereof*, *of it*, and, in older French, *of him*, *of her*, *of them*): *J'aime Paris, j'en admire les monuments*. With this meaning the pronoun *en* is especially used, in the present language, to refer to nouns denoting things. This use of *en* is becoming more and more

<sup>1</sup> *Mais* has here the primitive sense, *more*, Lat. *magis*.

restricted with reference to nouns denoting persons. At the present day we should hardly say :

*Sans l'avoir jamais vu, je connais son courage :  
Qu'importe après cela quel on soit le visage?* (Corn. iv. 359.)

(Without ever having seen him, I know his courage :  
What matters, after that, what his face may be!)

*Le philosophe consume sa vie à observer les hommes ; et il use ses esprits à en démêler les vices et le ridicule* (the philosopher consumes his life in observing men ; and he wears his wits in unravelling their vices and absurdity) (La Bruy. i. 127). According to the present usage we should substitute the possessive adjective for *en*, and write : *à démêler leurs vices et leur ridicule*.

B. The indirect object (ablative). In this case it is indiscriminately applied both to persons and things. However, it is no longer used so freely as formerly in referring to pronouns of the 1st or 2nd person :

*Ne me trouvi (trouvai) qui me dît (dit)  
De vos chose qui me seist (convienne),  
Car il n'en savient nouvelles.* (Chev. au lion, l. 3695.)

(Nor found I there any one to tell me  
Aught of you that suited me,  
For thereof they knew no tidings.)

Even in the 17th century we find : *Quant à moi, mon Père, il en faut juger autrement* (as for me, my father, you must judge of me differently) (Pascal, Prov. 316). *Il vous aime et s'en est fait aimer* (he loves you and has made himself loved of you) (Corn. vii. 507). We should still say, in the 3rd person : *Il l'aime et s'en est fait aimer*.

C. A partitive object (= of the kind referred to).—The Modern language has considerably extended this use, which was rather restricted till the 17th century. Old French scarcely used *en* regularly in a partitive sense, save when the proposition contained a precise numeral determination : *Li (lui) semble bien que uns seus jors* (seul jour)

*en dure quarante (it seems to him that one single day lasts forty)* (Henri de Valenciennes, 556).

*Se perdu avec une femme*

*Cent en auez (aurez), si vous voulez.* (*Théât. franç.* 413.)

(If one wife you have lost,

A hundred of them you will have if you will.)

Save in this case, *en* was not obligatory :

*Tybert comença à chanter*

*Une chanson tote (toute) de Rome :*

*Onques (jamais) si bele n'ot home (belle n'oult-on).*

(*Rom. de Renart*, br. xii. 524.)

(Tybert began to sing

A song all about Rome :

So fine a one none ever heard.)

*Bientôt à cet effort fais<sup>1</sup> succéder un autre.* (*Corn.* x. 130.)

(Soon on this effort let another follow.)

*Tous d'une commune voix vous nommèrent ; et il n'y<sup>1</sup> eut pas un seul . . .* (all with one common voice named you ; and there was not a single one . . .) (*La Bruy.* i. 36).

Note that *en*, which plays the part of a genitive when it shows possession, and of an ablative when it is an indirect object, replaces an accusative when it is partitive : *Ce fruit est excellent, goûtez-en* (this fruit is excellent, taste some). *Il a élevé plus de monuments que d'autres n'en ont détruit* (he has raised more monuments than others have destroyed)<sup>2</sup>. In such a case the noun referred to may have an attribute, which takes the place of the accusative after the verb : *Avez-vous lu les drames de Shakespeare ?—J'en ai lu quelques-uns* (I have read some of them). This construction shows us the transition from *en* used as a genitive to *en* used as an accusative : *Avez-vous lu ces livres ?—J'en ai lu quelques-uns*, that is *j'ai lu quelques-uns d'eux*. Suppressing the direct object *quelques-uns* we

<sup>1</sup> In these examples, modern usage would demand the insertion of *en* at this place.

<sup>2</sup> [The most literal rendering of this partitive *en* is our archaic *therrof*.]

have the partitive accusative : *J'en ai lu*. The construction is altered, but not the sense.

**Y. I.** The adverbial function of *y* may be found in the locutions *il y a* (*it is there = there is, there are*), *il y va de* (*it is a matter of*). The Old language preferred *il a* and *il va*, and the absence of *y* was all the more logical for *il a*, since *y* is a pleonasm when it is followed by a precise determination of place : *il y a à Paris*. In the 17th century we still find : *Il m'a paru que la véritable cause est qu'il en a de vrais* (*it seemed to me that the veritable cause is that there are true ones [miracles]*) (Pascal, *Pens.* ii. 71). *Procès criminels où il ne va jamais moins que de sa vie* (*criminal trials, involving never anything short of one's life*) (Sév. ii. 235). On the other hand, in the 17th century *y* was often used as a pleonasm to recall a place already named : *Mille gens à la cour y traient leur vie à embrasser* (*a thousand people at court drag their lives out there in embracing*) (La Bruy. i. 316).

The adverbial function of *y* may also be found in a great number of locutions in which *y* represents rather a preceding idea than a preceding noun : *Vous dépendez dans une affaire . . . du consentement de deux personnes; l'un vous dit : 'J'y donne les mains, pourvu qu'un tel y condescende,' et ce tel y condescend . . . Cependant rien n'avance . . . 'Je m'y perds,' dites-vous, 'et je n'y comprends rien ; il ne s'agit que de faire . . . qu'ils se parlent.' Je vous dis, moi, que j'y vois clair, et que j'y comprends tout : ils se sont parlé* (*In an affair you depend . . . on the consent of two people. One tells you 'I consent, provided So-and-so agrees to it'; and this So-and-so does agree to it. However, things do not progress . . . 'I am lost,' say you, 'and I can't make it out ; it is only a matter of getting . . . them to talk together.' I tell you that I do make it out, and that I understand it all : they have talked together*) (La Bruy. i. 333). Compare the locutions *n'y voir goutte* (*not to be able to make it out at all*), *vous n'y êtes pas* (*you don't understand*, lit. '*you're not in it*'), &c.

II. As a true pronoun *y* stands for a noun preceded by a preposition, and does duty for an indirect object (dative). The modern language tends to restrict the application of *y* in its various uses to nouns denoting things. Already Vaugelas blamed the phrase : *J'ay remis les hardes de mon frère à un tel afin qu'il les y* [for lui] *donne* (*I handed over my brother's clothes to such a person for him to give them to him*), and, he added, 'it is quite a common fault with our courtiers' (i. 177). It was also the custom of many writers: *Il n'y a homme au monde qui soit à vous si véritablement que j'y suis* (*there is no man in the world so truly yours as I am*) (La Rochef. iii. 138). *Rien ne peut me distraire de penser à vous ; j'y rapporte toutes choses* (*nothing can distract me from thinking of you ; I refer everything to you*) (Sév. vi. 318). *Un vieillard . . . est un trésor inestimable ; il est plein de faits . . . ; l'on y trouve l'histoire du siècle* (*an old man is an inestimable treasure ; he is full of facts ; in him we find the history of the century*) (La Bruy. ii. 54). We also note in the 17th and 18th centuries the use of *y* for a noun denoting a person, preceded by the preposition *avec* or *chez* : *Je vois Madame de Villars* [equivalent to *je vais chez*], *et je m'y plais parce que . . .* (*I visit Madame de Villars, and I like being there because . . .*) (Sév. ii. 66). *On se fait un plaisir de vivre avec eux et on ne veut pas y être enterré* (*one takes pleasure in living with them [actors], and one is unwilling to be buried with them*) (Voltaire, *Letters*, 18 July, 1762).

Thus *en* and *y* in the Old language were applied indifferently both to persons and things. The language has a tendency to restrict their use to nouns denoting things, and we have here a fresh instance of this distinction which the language draws, for pronouns, between words denoting persons and words denoting things [thus tending to form a true neuter gender]. This distinction is absolutely unknown as far as substantives and verbs are concerned ; it is strange that it should have been gradually adopted for personal and relative pronouns.

## II. Possessive Pronouns.

**400. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.**—We have seen (Book II, § 202) that little by little the language distributed into two series, and applied to two different uses, the possessives, according as they were accented or atonic. The accented pronouns have become substantive pronouns: *le mien, le tien, le sien; la miennne, &c.; les miens, les miennes, &c.* The atonic pronouns have become adjective pronouns: *mon, ton, son; nos, vos, leurs; ma, ta, sa; mes, tes, ses, &c.*

The accented forms were used in the Old language both as attributives and as predicates.

As attributives they were put either before or, more rarely, after the substantive, whether it stood alone or was accompanied by a determinant (definite or indefinite article, demonstrative, or numeral): *en mien pays, le mien pays, un mien pays, ce mien pays, ces deux vostres amis, &c.* This use, very frequent in the first half of the 16th century, only survives as an archaism in the 17th; we find it especially marked in Racine's *Les Plaideurs* and in La Fontaine; it was, moreover, condemned by all grammarians of the period. It survives only in *un mien ami, ces miennes choses*, of familiar style. The loss of this use can but be regretted. In most cases where the Old language used accented forms, it is impossible for the present language to render their complete sense by the simple atonic forms; *un mien ami* (a friend of mine) is quite different from *mon ami* (my friend), and must be rendered by a periphrase, *un ami à moi*, or *un de mes amis*<sup>1</sup> (one of my friends). *Aucune vostre entreprise* (no undertaking of yours) is now rendered by *aucune entreprise de votre part*. The idea expressed by the accented possessive is also expressed at the present

<sup>1</sup> This periphrase is already to be found in Old French: *Lors me dist uns de mes mariners* (then one of my mariners said to me). (Joinv. 300.)

day by the adjective *propre* (own) sometimes used with the atonic possessive: *ma propre expérience* (= *my own experience*; O. F. *la miennne expérience*).

The use of accented forms without an article for the predicate was also regular in the Old language: '*Dient-il voir* (Mod. F. *vrai*) *que la garde de l'abbaye est moye?*'—'*Certes, sire, fis je, non est ains (mais) est moye.*' *Lors dist li roys: 'Il puet (peut) bien estre que li eritaiges est vostre'* ('*Do they say truly that the patronage of the abbey is mine?*'—'*Surely, sire, it is not, but mine,*' said I. Then said the king, '*It may well be that the heritage is yours*') (Joinv. 676-77).

In the 16th century, however, the grammarians Palsgrave and Garnier demanded the substitution of the periphrases *à moi, à toi, à lui, &c.*, for the possessive pronouns, and the following phrase of Rabelais shows us the two modes: *Voire mais . . . ce champ n'est pas tien, il est à moy et m'appartient* (but, in sooth, . . . this field is not thine; it is mine, and belongs to me) (ii. 427). In the 17th century the old usage was almost entirely lost, and is only to be found in some familiar locutions. The present usage for the predicate is, then, to prefix the article to the accented possessive pronoun (e.g. *le mien*), or to replace it by the prepositional dative (e.g. *à moi*).

**401. POSSESSIVE REPLACED BY THE ARTICLE.**—In the present language the possessive adjective is replaced by the article when the possessive idea is already clearly expressed: *Il a mal à la tête. La jambe me fait mal. Il s'est coupé le doigt.* In the Old language, and as late as the 17th century, no hesitation was felt in using the possessive adjective in this case; but it may be noted that the active or simple verb was used with the possessive, instead of the reflexive or pronominal verb with the article: *Il frotte ses mains* (La Bruy. ii. 135), and not *Il se frotte les mains*. So *Un homme superstitieux, après avoir lavé ses*



*mains* [Mod. F. *s'être lavé les mains*], *se promène une grande partie du jour avec une feuille de laurier dans sa* [Mod. F. *la*] *bouche* (a superstitious man, after washing his hands, walks about a great part of the day with a laurel leaf in his mouth (id. i. 65). The present construction appears as early as the 12th century :

*Vers terre tint le chief (la tête) incliné. (Chev. au lion, l. 396a.)*  
(Towards the earth he held his head inclined.)

Although Palsgrave, in the 16th century, held that *il me lava les mains* and not *il lava mes mains* should be definitively adopted, the modern usage only triumphed in the 18th century. Later, somewhat subtle distinctions were made for the ellipsis and the use of the possessive respectively. Compare *se couper les cheveux* (to cut one's hair) and *couper ses cheveux* (to cut off one's hair), *se former le goût* and *former son goût*, &c.

**402. USE OF THE POSSESSIVE OF THE 3RD PERSON.—I.** The Latin *suus, sua, suum*, referred either to a single possessor, or to more than one: *mater amat suos liberos* (the mother loves her children); *matres amant suos liberos* (the mothers love their children). This construction has survived in both Spanish and Portuguese. It occurs here and there in Old French :

*Li soleil e la lune perdirent ses clartés. (Rom. d'Alix. 23.)*  
(The sun and moon lost their brightness.)

But it was not retained; *son, sa*, were reserved for a single possessor, and for more than one recourse was had to *illorum, leur*: *La mère aime ses enfants; les mères aiment leurs enfants*. We have seen (Book II, p. 306) that down to the 14th century *leur*, according to its etymology, had remained indeclinable, as in *leur amis*. Traces are still to be found of this indeclinability of *leur*, and its consequent force as a demonstrative, in Malherbe, and even in the translations of Racine's youth.

II. In Latin this possessive *suus* only referred as a rule to a possessor mentioned in the same clause as the possessed object, or to one who was the subject of the principal sentence. Otherwise, instead of *suus* the genitive of the pronoun of the 3rd person was used. The phrase, 'I saw this man (*or* these men) and admired his (*or* their) talents,' would be rendered in Latin, 'I saw . . . , and admired the talent of him (*or* of them).'

This distinction was not quite unknown to the Old language, owing to its retention until the 16th century of the power of replacing the possessive adjective by the periphrases *de moi, de toi, de lui, &c.* Thus, for the 3rd person were avoided many ambiguities necessarily brought into the present language by the use of *son, sa, ses*: *Car elle avait consenty apres sa defense le deshonneur de luy* (*for she had consented to his dishonour, after his forbiddal*) (*Cent Nouv.* i. 30). *Et si vous vouldes avoir la bonne grace d'elle, je vous conseille de vous faire amy et serviteur de luy* (*and if you would gain the good graces of her, I advise you to make yourself a friend and servant of him*) (*Heptaméron*, i. 348)<sup>1</sup>.

This last sentence would have no sense if *son* and *sa* were substituted for *de lui* and *d'elle* according to modern syntax; to render it clear it would be necessary to express the possessors by substantives. Compare this passage of La Bruyère: *Il descend du Palais, et trouvant au bas du grand degré un carrosse, qu'il prend pour le sien, il se met dedans; le cocher touche et croit remener son maître dans sa maison* (*he goes out of the Palace, and, finding at the foot of the great staircase a carriage which he takes for his own,*

<sup>1</sup> This construction occurs but very rarely in the 17th century, and we must distinguish it from that in which the periphrase *de moi, de toi, &c.*, instead of *mon, ton, &c.*, is brought about by the sequence of a substantive co-ordinate with the pronoun: *J'assembleray les iniquités de vous et de vos pères* (*I will gather together your and your fathers' iniquities*) (*Pascal*, *Pensées*, i. 224). In the Modern language we generally use the possessive adjective in this case, putting a demonstrative pronoun before the co-ordinated possessive substantive: *vos iniquités et celles de vos pères*.

*he gets in ; the coachman whips up and thinks he is taking his master back to his house*) (ii. 8).

On the other hand it might be thought from the construction *j'aime Paris et j'en admire les monuments* (*I love Paris and admire its monuments*), where *en* is the equivalent of *de lui*, that French has retained a trace of the Latin rule forbidding the use of the possessive when the possessor is not mentioned in the proposition. It is not so. The rule which requires the use of the pronoun *en* when the possessor is a thing mentioned in another proposition is of recent application (see § 399, II, p. 636). Although already formulated in the 17th century by the grammarians of Port-Royal, it was little observed by the great French writers ; Voltaire did not hesitate to write :

*Mais la mollesse est douce et sa suite est cruelle.* (*Zaïre*, Act I, Sc. 2.)  
(But indolence is sweet, and its results are cruel.)

Even at the present day this rule is often broken, and is subject to many exceptions.

403. POSSESSIVES RELATING TO ONE OR MORE SUBSTANTIVES.—There are two cases to be considered. (1) We have seen (§ 369, II) that in the Old language a single possessive could be used before several substantives, being made to agree either with the first of these or with them all. This use has survived in the phrases *en mon âme et conscience* ; *ses père et mère*. The present language, however, prefers in such cases to express the possessive adjective before *each* substantive : *il avait son cheval et sa voiture*.

(2) When two or more possessives refer to a single substantive, they were allowed to precede it in the Old language ; and down to the 16th century we find *le mien et sien père*. In the present language only a single possessive is allowed to precede the substantive : *mon père et le sien* (*my father and his*).

404. USE OF POSSESSIVES IN THE OBJECTIVE SENSE.—

We must finally note the use of the possessive as indicating an objective genitive (see Book III, § 281, 2). When Racine says (ii. 299) *j'irai semer partout ma crainte* (*I will go sow my fear everywhere*), *ma crainte* does not signify *my fear* as in '*my house*,' but '*the fear of me*.'

This use of the possessive was fairly extended in the Old language, and even in the 17th century was more so than it is at present. Malherbe, who twitted Desportes for having written *eut-il pitié de ma fatalité* (*had he pity on my fatal misfortune*), himself writes *son mépris* = *contempt for her* (i. 39); *ton amour et ta crainte* = *the love and the fear of thee* (i. 72). The Modern language is more cautious in its use. However, we still say: *à mon aide* (*to my help*), *à sa suite* (*following him*), *en mon honneur* (*in my honour*), *à son égard* (*with respect to him*), where the possessive adjective represents the object of the transitive verbal idea contained in the substantive: *Venez à mon aide* is the equivalent of *Venez m'aider*; *il a fait cela en mon honneur* of *il a fait cela pour m'honorer*. In other cases the possessive adjective does not represent the object of a verb, and can only be explained by the ellipsis of a phrase or proposition: *à mon endroit* (*in my place*), *avoir de ses nouvelles* (*to have news of him*), *porter son deuil* (*to be in mourning for him*), &c. The same applies to such sentences as: *Il est bien de sa personne* (*he is of good appearance*); *Ce que vous avez écrit à son sujet* (*what you wrote about him*); and also to *Cela sent son vieillard*, *son vieux temps* (*this has a scent of [= suggests] the old man, the ancient time*, sc. of its author or origin), and to the popular expression, *faire son malin* (*to play the [lit. his] clever fellow*). In all idioms of this kind, the possessive takes the place of a whole proposition, this being different in different cases.

### III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

**405. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.**—We have seen (Book II, §§ 207, 208) how, in the old declen-

sion of the demonstratives, the forms of the nominative were lost and replaced by those of the accusative at the end of the 14th century, and how in the 15th and the 16th centuries the forms of the dative were also reduced in the compounds of *iste* and of *ille* with *eoce*, so that through one reduction after another the *iste* family at last came to represent only the demonstrative adjective, and the *ille* family only the demonstrative substantive: *ce* or *cel*, *ces*, in the masculine, *cette*, *ces*, in the feminine, on the one hand; *celui*, *celle*, *ceux*, *celles*, on the other.

In the Old language, when the *cest* family and the family of *cel*, *celui*, had alike both substantive and adjective functions, each family had its proper definite value: the former pointed out objects that were near, the latter objects at a distance. But, both families being thus reduced, and having acquired, as we saw, new and distinct grammatical functions, the Modern language had recourse to a new process to express the ideas of nearness and distance, by adding the adverbs *ici* and *là*; and *ici*, which survives in popular speech, was reduced in this use in the common language to *ci*. Thus as adjectives we use: *ce livre-ci*, *cette feuille-ci*, *ces choses-ci*, *ce livre-là*, *cette feuille-là*, *ces choses-là*; as substantives: *celui-ci*, *celle-ci*, *ceux-ci*, *celles-ci*, and *celui-là*, *celle-là*. We may add the neuter *ce*, which gives *ceci*, *cela* (in familiar language *ça*). Owing to this change of function, the language arrived at such phrases as: *cet homme est celui dont je vous parle*, which signifies etymologically: *this man is that one of whom I speak to you*.

406. THE PRONOUN *celui*.—I. *Celui* before a genitive replaces a preceding substantive: *le livre de Pierre et celui de Paul*. In this case in Latin the substantive was itself either understood, or repeated: *the life of man is shorter than of crows*, or *than the life of crows*. Such too was the usage in Old French: *E mes pies fait ignels come (comme) de cerf* (*and maketh my feet fleet as [those] of a hart*)

(*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 208). *L'yaue devenoit . . . aussi froide come de fontaine* (the water turned as cold as [that] of a spring) (*Joinv.* 189). *Et lors je pris le pan de son seurcot et deu seurcot le* [*Mod. F. du*] *roi* (and then I took the skirt of his surcoat and of the king's surcoat) (*id.* 36). So also in the 17th century: *ma femme et mes enfans ne me laisseroient pas hasarder ma foi et mon honneur et mon repos, et de ma famille* (my wife and children would not let me risk my faith and my honour and my peace, and [those] of my family) (*La Rochef.* iii. 242). *Cette province est un bel exemple pour les autres et surtout de respecter les gouverneurs* (this province is a fine example for the rest, and especially [one] of respecting governors) (*Sév.* iv. 207). *Pleurer tous franchement . . . et sans autre embarras que d'essuyer ses larmes* (for all to weep frankly without other embarrassment than that of wiping away their tears) (*La Bruy.* i. 137).

The Old language could also express this relation by the article (*Book II*, § 199, 2): *E seueid (suivit) les males* (mauvaises) *traces sun pere e sa mere, e les Jeroboam* (and he followed the evil ways of his father and his mother, and those of Jeroboam) (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 342). *Je n'i vi cotes brodees, ne les le roi ne les autrui* (I saw there no embroidered coats, neither those of the king nor those of any one else) (*Joinv.* 25). This peculiar use of the article was not quite lost in the popular speech in the 16th century. H. Estienne notes that in his time they said *les d'Henri* (for those of Henry, *Mod. F. ceux d'Henri*), and we still say *Menil-le-Roi*, *Villeneuve-la-Guyard*.

Nevertheless, the use of the demonstrative also was not unknown in the Old language. Thus Joinville, who, as we have just seen, sometimes follows the Latin syntax and sometimes has recourse to the article, uses no less frequently the demonstrative pronoun: *Se logea entre le flun* (fleuve) *de Damiette et celui de Rexi* (he settled between the river of Damietta and that of Rexi) (191). But the use of the demonstrative has only become truly regular from the 18th century.

2. *Celui*, in the present language, can only be used absolutely, that is, without the particle *-ci* or *-là*, when immediately followed either (1) by a genitive: *celui de Pierre*; or (2) by a relative proposition: *celui qui vient*. The Old language used it absolutely, under all circumstances. Down to the 15th century it might be either subject, predicate, or object: *œulx furent prins* (*these were taken*) (*Jeh. de Paris*, 13). *Avec œluy se festoya le grand empereur Osiris* (*with him feasted the great emperor Osiris*) (*Le Maire de Belges*).

In the 16th century this licence was lost save in two cases, and *celui* could only be used absolutely:

(a) When *celui* was separated from a relative pronoun by an intervening phrase. R. Estienne said that it was incorrect to write: *celui-là est homme de bien qui . . .*, and held that we should write: *celui est homme de bien qui . . .* (*that man is an upright man who . . .*). A century later Vaugelas decided the contrary, and only admitted: *celui-là est homme de bien qui . . .* In fact, this is the most frequent construction in use during the 17th century: *œlui-là n'est pas raisonnable à qui le hasard fait trouver la raison* (*he is no reasonable man who owes his reasonableness to chance*) (*La Rochef. i. 76*); *œlui-là est bon qui fait du bien aux autres* (*he is good who does good to others*) (*La Bruy. i. 169*). Certain grammarians of the period, finding this construction harsh, extolled another, which has triumphed, and consists in making the relative proposition immediately follow the demonstrative: *œlui qui . . . est homme de bien*. Of the old use of *celui* absolutely, separated from the relative proposition, one trace has remained: it is allowed when the intervening portion of the sentence is formed by either an adjective or participle [or adjectival phrase]: *Votre exemple, et œlui si généreux qu'a donné votre lettre. Ma lettre, et œlle écrite par mon ami, qui vous sera remise*. (*Your example, and that most generous [one] set by your letter. My letter, and that written by my friend, which will be handed to you.*)

On the other hand, in the 16th century and during the first half of the 17th, to meet *celui-ci* and *celui-là* immediately before a relative proposition was not infrequent:

*Or entre tous ceux-là qui se mirent à table.*

(Régn. Sat. X, v. 279.)

(Now of all those who took their places at table.)

La Fontaine is almost the only author of the second half of the 17th century who has recourse to this use of *celui-ci*, *-là*, which is now dead.

(b) When *celui* was accompanied by an adjective, a participle, or some other determinant not followed by a relative proposition. Modern grammarians blame such expressions as: *ajoutez ce service à ceux déjà rendus* (add this service to those already rendered). The present rule prescribes that *ceux déjà rendus* should be replaced by a relative proposition after the demonstrative (*ceux qui sont déjà rendus*<sup>1</sup>); but it is far from being universally accepted. In the popular speech and in easy style the ancient usage is still followed.

3. *Celui qui* (O.F. *cil qui* or *cel qui*) had frequently, until the 17th century, (a) with *comme*, the general sense of *une personne* (he who, one who, pl. they who, people who, corresponding to the Latin *quippe qui*); (b) with a negative, the general sense of *pas une personne* (no one who):

(a) *Li cuens de la Marche, come (comme) cil qui ne le pot amender* (the Count of the Mark, as one unable to remedy it) (Joinv. 103). *Ils marcheoyent en désordre comme ceux qui cuidoyent (croyaient) bien estre hors de tout danger* (they marched in disorder, as if thinking themselves out of all danger) (Mont. i. 45). *Elle vous parle comme celle qui n'est pas savante . . . et elle vous écoute comme celle qui sait beaucoup* (she speaks to you as one who is not learned, and listens to you as one who knows much) (La Bruy. ii. 92). The verb may even be in another person

<sup>1</sup> [Or by the repetition of the substantive: *aux services déjà rendus.*]



than the 3rd: *comme celui qui suis autant jaloux des droits de . . .* (as one that is [lit. am] as jealous of the rights of . . .) (Mont. iii. 2). *Je le dis comme celui qui y étois présent* (I speak of it as an eye-witness) (Pasquier, *Recherches*, vii. 6). Thus Bossuet is justified in writing: *Je suis celui qui suis* (I am That I am). This construction is still used in familiar locutions: *Il fait celui qui ne comprend pas. Elle fait celle qui est sourde.* (He plays the man who does not understand. She plays the deaf woman.)

(b) *Ni ad (avait) celui qui un seul (seul) mot respondet.*

(*Rol. I. 354a.*)

(There was none there who answered one single word.)

*Car il n'y a celui qui autant n'ait (aime) sa vie* (for there is no one who does not love his life as much) (Joinv. 628). *Il n'y eut celui qui ne beust vingt cinq ou trente muids (muids)* (there was none that did not drink twenty-five or thirty hogsheads) (Rabel. i. 320). *Il n'y avoit celui qui ne prévît une prochaine rupture avec la famille de Lorge* (there was no one who did not foresee an early rupture with the de Lorge family) (Saint-Simon, vol. 28, p. 279).

4. *Ceux* followed by a genitive was very often taken absolutely in the sense of '*les hommes, les gens*' (the men, the people), and this use survives.

*E cil (ceux) d'Espagne s'en claiment tuit (tout) dolent.*

(*Rol. I. 1608.*)

(And those of Spain complain, full of grief.)

*Cil de Venise* (the men of Venice) (Villeh. 49). *Ceux dou chastel* (the people of the castle) (Joinv. 536). *Cil de son conseil* (his councillors) (id. 678). *Il s'étend merveilleusement . . . sur le combat célèbre que ceux de Lacédémone ont livré aux Athéniens sous la conduite de Lysandre* (he dwells wonderfully on the famous battle which the men of Lacedaemon fought with the Athenians under the leadership of Lysander) (La Bruy. i. 49). And in Fénelon: *Ceux de Crotone ont perdu contre lui deux batailles* (the men of Crotona lost two battles against him) (*Télém.* ix). The present language

makes a more limited use of this construction: *œux de la ville*, *œux de Paris* (*townspeople, Parisians*).

407. THE NEUTER PRONOUN *œ*.—I. *Cœ* in the nominative is used without a correlative before the verb *être*, either (1) to recall the logical subject: *vous avez tort, c'est évident*; or (2) to announce the logical subject: *c'est une vilaine chose que l'orgueil; q'a été la cause de bien des erreurs, &c.* The very old language often avoided the use of this pronoun as the subject, and its use hardly became regular before the 13th century. On the other hand, the Modern language has extended it at the expense of *il*, which, as mentioned above, was used down to the 17th century in many cases where we use *ce* (§ 390, IV). The modern rule for the impersonal use of the verb *être* is to use *il* for the subject where the impersonal proposition is determined by a complement; *œ*, where the proposition is left undetermined or absolute. Thus we say *c'est bon*, *c'est vrai*, and no longer *il est bon*, *il est vrai*, but *il est vrai que la terre est ronde*.

In the preceding constructions the use of the neuter is obvious. This does not apply to the expressions *c'est moi*, *c'est mon père*, where [as in the English *it is I*, *it is my father*] the verb is followed by a noun denoting a person, or by a personal pronoun. In Latin the logical subject was not introduced by the neuter demonstrative; this subject, whether a noun denoting an object or a person, was introduced by a demonstrative agreeing with it in gender, number, and case: *œ sont les qualités de la vieillesse* was rendered by the equivalent of *œlles sont les qualités de la vieillesse*, *œœ (not id) sunt virtutes senectutis*. This construction was not unknown to the Old language; the phrase: *cis estoit vrais Fis Dieu* (*that man was true Son of God*) (Joinv. 797), where *cis* agrees in gender, number, and case with *Fis*, would now be rendered by: *c'était le vrai fils de Dieu*, where *cœ* is neuter. But this construc-

tion, retained in the other Romance languages, is rare even in Old French; and moreover in the Latin of the early Middle Ages we find phrases such as: *hoo sunt villas nostras*, an expression equivalent to the present French construction. [For the locutions *ce sont*, *ce furent*, &c., see on the number of the verb, § 459, VII, p. 786.]

The construction we have just analyzed is used in French to emphasize one of the terms of a principal proposition by changing it into a relative proposition. Where the Latin has *Darium vicit Alexander*, the French has *C'est Darius que vainquit Alexandre*; where Latin uses *Alexander Darium vicit*, French uses *C'est Alexandre qui vainquit Darius* [so in English: *it was Darius whom Alexander conquered, it was Alexander who conquered Darius*]; this emphatic construction rendering what the order of the words could express in Latin.

Again, this *ce* is used emphatically when it recalls a substantive placed at the beginning of a phrase, and used as the subject of the verb *être*. *Le talent où il excelloit le plus, c'étoit dans la conduite des âmes* (*the talent in which he most excelled was the direction of souls*) (Rac. iv. 474). *Tout ce qu'il a pu souhaiter pendant le cours d'une longue vie, s'a été de . . .* (*everything that he could desire during the course of a long life was to . . .*) (La Bruy. i. 272). This emphatic construction, of rare occurrence in the Old language, was far from being so frequent in the 17th century as it is at present. Vaugelas,—and his way of thinking was that of the writers of his time,—did not allow the use of this redundant *ce*, save when the subject was far removed from the verb *être*. In the 18th century they still said: *ce qui me frappoit le plus étoit de voir*. Moreover, even the present language only demands *ce* imperatively in the case when the verb *être* is followed by a plural substantive: *ce qui l'accable ce sont ses malheurs*. But in this case also the *ce* was not indispensable in the 16th and 17th centuries: *ce que j'ai d'eux sont seulement quelques accessoires* (*what I have, more-*

over, are only some accessories) (Amb. Paré, *Avertiss. au lecteur*, i. 10); *ce qui plaît aux hommes sont ses lumières* (what pleases men are her [St. Theresa's] lights) (Pascal, *Pensées*, ii. 51).

With other verbs *ce* is now hardly used, save in two locutions with neuter verbs used impersonally: *ce semble*, *ce peut être vrai*. In the 17th century, *ce vient*, *ce vint*, were currently employed, and these are still retained in the popular speech.

Old and Middle French, on the contrary, used *ce* as the subject of any verb :

*Ce senefiet pais e umilité.* (Rol. l. 73.)

(It signifies peace and humility.)

*Quant ce fu fait* (when it was done) (Joinv. 278). *Et se (si) ce ne vous plaît à faire* (and if it does not please you to do it) (id. 453). In these cases we should now replace *ce* by *cela*.

Another frequent use of *ce* as a subject with any verb, retained till the 16th century, and leaving some traces in the 17th, consisted in making it introduce a proposition :

*Ce pœist mei que ma fin tant demoret.* (Alexis, 92 c.)

(It burdens me, that my end so long delays.)

*Comment ce pourroit estre que li roys peust* (how it could be that the king should be able) (Joinv. 426). In this case *il*, as we have seen (§ 390, IV.), now always replaces *ce*, but it is far from having the same introductory value, and is simply used as the grammatical subject to the verb.

2. *Ce in the accusative.* The Old language used the neuter *ce* as the object of either verbs or prepositions. Although in the 16th century *cela* had begun to replace it, *ce* was not quite lost in the 17th century: *ce dit-il*, *ce dit-on*, *outré ce*, *à ce faire*, *en ce faisant*, and also *ce* summing up a preceding proposition<sup>1</sup>, were used currently, despite

<sup>1</sup> In legal and official diction we still find: *Et ce conformément à . . .* (and this in conformity with . . .). *En vertu de ce que dessus . . .* (in virtue of this [= the fact], that above . . .).

Vaugelas and the Academy. *Sur ce* (*hereupon, thereupon*), *pour ce faire* (*to do this*), *ce faisant* (*doing this*), have survived. With the same usage are connected the adverb *cependant* (lit. *this pending*), and the locutions *parce que, de ce que, &c.* In these locutions the *ce* may be explained by the fact that the Old language introduced a subordinate proposition by the demonstrative pronoun :

*Ço sent Rollans que la mort li est pres.* (Rol. l. 2259.)

(This Roland feels, that death to him is nigh.)

*Ce je ne vueil que nuls face jamais bien . . .* (*I do not wish that any should ever do good . . .*) (Joinv. 445).

This use of *ce* as the object of a verb was soon abandoned; but as the object of a preposition it was long retained when preceding a relative proposition introduced by *que* :

*Sonent mil graies por ço que plus bel seit.* (Rol. l. 1004.)

(A thousand clarions ring, that it may finer be.)

Hence we still find in the 17th century the locutions *à ce que*<sup>1</sup>, *à cause de ce que*, *avec ce que*, *pour ce que*, *sans ce que*; and, at the present day, *parce que*, *de ce que*, where *ce* has lost its primitive value of introducing a following proposition.

Finally, the present language still employs *ce* as the direct object of all verbs, provided that it is the antecedent of a relative pronoun: *Je fais ce que je veux* (*I do what I please*). The Old language, on the contrary, down to the 17th century, frequently used the relative or interrogative pronoun without the antecedent *ce*, either as the direct object, or to sum up the preceding proposition. Such was still the usage in the 17th century: *Voilà qui ne se peut contester* (*this is what cannot be contested*) (Sév. vii. 199). *Je lui demandai que c'étoit* (*I asked him what it was*) (id. iv. 88). *Vous êtes sans doute devenu impatient, qui est une qualite inséparable des poètes* (*you have doubtless become impatient,*

<sup>1</sup> *A ce que* had the sense of *afin que*, which it has retained as a law term: *à ce qu'il n'en prétend à cause d'ignorance* (*to the end that he may not allege on the ground of ignorance*).

a quality inherent in poets) (Rac. vi. 393). *L'on me mande que vous n'avez plus guère de fièvre, dont je me réjouis* (they tell me that you have scarcely any more fever, at which I am delighted) (La Rochef. iii. 101). Cf. § 410 below.

408. THE USE OF *ceci* AND *cela*.—*Ceci* (this), *cela* (that), in accordance with their etymological meanings may express an antithesis. They are used, *ceci* to designate objects near at hand, *cela* to designate objects at a distance: *Prenez ceci, cela est moins bon* (take this; that is not so good).

But they may also be used without any idea of antithesis; they then indicate a present fact or a thing spoken of, or about to be spoken of: *Ceci ne me plaît pas* (this does not please me). *Ils ont cela de commun que . . .* (they have this in common, &c.). But usually *ceci* designates what precedes, and *cela* what follows [and *ceci* and *cela* retain their primitive sense of nearness or distance (in the sentence) in comparing or contrasting two antecedents; so *ceci* = the latter, *cela* = the former]. For the use of *cela* (*ça*) as a logical subject instead of *ce*, see p. 654.

In interrogative sentences we sometimes find *ceci, cela*, written in two words: *Qu'est-ce là que je vois? Sont-ce là nos gens?* We find also the *ce* repeated: *Qu'est-ce ceci? Qu'est-ce cela?* These latter forms tend, however, to disappear. *Cela* preceding a relative proposition, and accompanied by a negation, may also be written in two words (*ce* and *là* then changing places); we say indifferently: *ce n'est pas cela que j'ai demandé* and *ce n'est pas là ce que j'ai demandé* (it is not that that I asked for).

409. THE ADJECTIVE-PRONOUNS *ce, cet, cette, ces*.—The demonstrative adjectives *ce, cet, celle, ces*, are also construed in the same manner with the adverbs *ci* and *là*. We have seen (Book II, § 208 a, 4) that *ci* in Middle French and down to the 17th century was frequently replaced by *ici*; Vaugelas preferred to say *cet homme* *ici* to *cet homme-ci*. *Ici* still survives, in this use, in certain provinces.

The demonstrative value may be weakened in these adjectives and then their function becomes reduced in consequence to that of an article. This, however, occurs less frequently in the present language than in the Old language, where the article was nearer to its demonstrative origin, and consequently could more easily be replaced by the pronoun; we however still write *œ 10 mars*, *œ 2 juin*, in dating letters. In the 17th century we find occasionally *ce jour d'hui*; Vaugelas did not venture to find fault with *il m'a fait œ bien de me dire* for *il m'a fait le bien de me dire* (*he did me the kindness to tell me*). In certain patois of the North, Picard, Walloon, &c., we still meet with this merely determinant value of the demonstrative adjective.

#### IV. Relative Pronouns.

410. *Qui, que*.—The relative pronoun is either atonic or accented.

(i) The atonic *nominative* is *qui* (*who*): *l'homme qui est venu*; the atonic *accusative* is *que* (*whom*): *l'homme que j'ai vu*.

The atonic *qui* and *que* always relate to an antecedent expressed, either a substantive or a pronoun: *C'est Pierre, c'est mon ami qui vient, c'est moi qui l'ai fait. C'est toi qui es maître. Je l'aperçois qui vient. Je la vois qui s'avance. Il est, le voilà, dans la chambre, qui attend*. We may see by these examples that the pronominal antecedent of the pronoun *qui* is accented in the 1st and 2nd persons, and only atonic in the 3rd person. But, by slightly modifying the preceding propositions, we may say: *Vous êtes ici plusieurs qui m'attendez; nous sommes deux voyageurs qui vaquons à nos affaires*, where the relative relates to the atonic pronouns *vous, nous*, used as subjects of a principal proposition.

The antecedent of *qui* or *que* may also be either (1) a demonstrative pronoun: *Celui qui règne dans les cieux; Je sais œ qu'il [= que il] en est*; (2) a relative or interroga-

tive pronoun: *Quoi que vous écriviez; Qu'avez-vous qui vous trouble?* or (3) an adjective or a participle used as a predicate: *Infortunés que nous sommes! Arrivé qu'il fut, il se mit à la besogne* (as soon as he arrived he set to work).

Down to the 17th century the antecedent might also be a complete proposition: *Je me sens obligé . . . de découvrir un mystère de votre conduite que j'ay promis il y a longtemps* (*I feel myself obliged to disclose a mystery in your behaviour, which I promised [to do] long since*) (Pascal, *Prov.* 260). *Je ne veux pas surpasser la mère de Chantal, qui serait proprement vouloir aller par delà paradis* (*I don't want to surpass Chantal's mother, which would be wanting literally to go beyond Paradise*) (Sév. vii. 217). *Elle jure par le Styx, qui est le plus grand et le plus terrible jurement des Dieux* (*she swears by the Styx, which is the greatest and most awful oath of the gods*) (Rac. v. 101).

(*Je*) *ne le verrai, que je crois, de ma vie.* (Rac. ii. 217.)

(*I shall not see it all my life, I think.*)

The present language requires the antecedent proposition to be summed up by the neuter demonstrative *ce* before the relative *qui* or *que*, e. g. *Elle jure par le Styx, ce qui, &c.*; but the old construction has survived in *qui plus est, qui mieux est, qui pis est* (*what is more, better, worse*), *que je sache*<sup>1</sup> (*that I know = to my knowledge*).

(ii) Accented, the relative pronoun is an adjective when accompanying its antecedent, and a substantive when alone without an antecedent. The present usage follows, with

<sup>1</sup> In Middle French and the 17th century we frequently find, owing to a phonetic confusion between these two words, *qui* for *qu'il* before an impersonal verb: *Et suis émerveillé qui ne se soit encore trouvé roy, ni prince, ni seigneur* (*and I am astonished that there should not yet have been found king, prince, or lord*) (Des Périers, *Réc. Nouv.* ii. 291). *Il faut accepter et recevoir ce qui lui plaît de vous donner* (*you must accept and receive what it pleases him to give you*) (Sév. x. 63). *Vous avez . . . la plus fertile imagination qui soit possible de concevoir* (*you have the most fertile imagination that it is possible to conceive*) (La Bruy. ii. 815).



restrictions, the ancient usage, according to which the relative *qui*, accented, was declined as follows :

Nominative *qui* (*l'homme qui est venu*) ;

Indirect object case *cui* (*l'homme cui je parle*) ;

Direct object case *cui* and *que* (*l'homme cui or que j'ai vu*).

*Qui* used as a substantive, that is, without an antecedent, was also declined : *Qui vivra, verra*. *Cui vous parlez vous écoutera*. *Cui vous aimez vous aimera*. In the course of the Middle Ages the pronunciation of the forms *cui* and *qui* became identical, and *qui* alone has survived.

This accented pronoun *qui* is still used in the present language, as well as in Old French, as a substantive in the nominative case. But this use is limited to certain set phrases : *Qui vivra, verra*. *Qui m'aime, me suive*. So that in general, as the subject, the atonic relative pronoun cannot be distinguished from the accented relative pronoun.

As the indirect object, *qui* is used as an adjective after a preposition : *l'homme à qui je parle* ; *l'homme de qui je me plains*. But the present language only allows this use when the antecedent is a noun denoting either a living being, or thing personified. Thus it no longer seems correct to say : *la chose à qui vous devez faire attention, le point sur qui il faut réfléchir* ; this was allowed till the 17th century : *Et n'oubliez rien, s'il vous plaît, de ces tendres paroles, de ces douces prières, et de ces caresses touchantes à qui je suis persuadé qu'on ne sauroit rien refuser* (and forget, if you please, none of those tender speeches, those sweet prayers, those tender caresses, to which I am convinced that it would be impossible to refuse anything) (Mol. vii. 160). The rule of Vaugelas, which allowed *qui* only for persons and for things personified, triumphed almost definitively in the 18th century. When the antecedent is a noun denoting a thing, *lequel* (combined with a preposition if necessary) and *dont* are used. Even the use of *qui* with a noun denoting a person as antecedent tends to be more and more restricted.

Vaugelas thought that one should say: *J'ay envoyé un courier exprès au retour duquel je verray . . .* (*I have sent a courier expressly, on whose return I will see . . .*), not *au retour de qui*. Already in the 17th century *dont* and *duquel* were at any rate no less frequent than *de qui*; and at the present day *auquel*, *par lequel*, *sur lequel*, are often substituted for *à qui*, *par qui*, *sur qui*. We now write indiscriminately *l'enfant à qui*, or *auquel*, *tout cède sera malheureux*.

But as a substantive *qui* is still regularly used for persons and things personified in the objective case, direct, indirect, or prepositional<sup>1</sup>: *je sais qui je choisirai* (*I know whom I will choose*). *Je n'ignore pas à qui j'ai affaire* (*I am not ignorant whom I have to deal with*). In this case *qui* (like the English *who*) may be the object of the first verb and subject of the second: *Aimes qui vous aime* (*love whoso loves you*); *Je m'en rapporte à qui veut bien entendre* (*I appeal to whosoever will hear*); or the object of both verbs: *Je ne sais qui vous voulez dire* (*I don't know whom you mean*); *Vous trouverez à qui parler* (*you will find some one to talk to*).

Finally, we note three archaic uses of *qui*.

A. Repeated at the beginning of two or more co-ordinate and consecutive propositions it had, and still has (but less frequently than in the Old language), the sense of *les uns . . . les autres*<sup>2</sup> (*some . . . some, or others*): *Les médecins ont raisonné là-dessus comme il faut, et ils n'ont pas manqué de dire que cela procédoit, qui du cerveau, qui de la rate, qui des entrailles, qui du foie* (*the doctors reasoned about it in proper fashion, and of course said, some that it came from the brain, some from the spleen, some from the intestines, some from the liver*) (Mol. vi. 95).

<sup>1</sup> For names of objects see *quoi*, § 411.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison with the other Romance languages suggests the view that *qui* has here an interrogative value. However, this construction remains obscure, and no satisfactory explanation of it has yet been given.

B. Down to the 17th century *qui* followed by a verb in the 3rd person singular might have the sense of *si on* (*if one*). French authors teem with instances of this expression, whose loss is to be regretted. It has survived in *comme qui dirait* (*as if one were to say*); also in the proverb: *Tout vient à point qui sait attendre* (*everything comes in time if one knows how to wait*), changed by a modern deformation into *Tout . . . à qui sait attendre* (*to him who knows how to wait*).

C. Very frequently in the Old language we meet two relative propositions following each other, where the first relative is accusative and the second may be nominative or accusative; we shall first consider cases in which the second relative is nominative: *Ce que je crois qui ne plaist mie à Dieu* (*what I think is not at all pleasing to God*) (Joinv. 22). *Celui que l'on lui a dit qui lui faisoit la villanie* (*he who [lit. whom] they told him was doing him the baseness*) (*Les quinze joyes de mariage*, p. 76). This construction is common among the great writers: *Cinq propositions équivoques qu'on doutoit qui s'y trouvassent* (*five equivocal propositions which they doubted to be found there*) (Rac. iv. 486). *Cette Madame Quintin que nous vous disions qui vous ressembloit* (*that Madame Quintin who [lit. whom] we told you resembled you*) (Sév. ii. 289). *J'ai reçu le traité de Mouron que je crois qui sera très avantageux* (*I have received Mouron's agreement which I think will be very advantageous*) (La Rochef. iii. 38). *Il s'est fait valoir par des vertus qu'il assuroit fort sérieusement qui étoient en lui* (*he asserted himself by virtues which he very seriously maintained were in him*) (La Bruy. i. 336). Even in the 18th century: *Voici cette épître qu'on prétend qui lui attira tant d'ennemis* (*here is the letter which is said to have gained him so many enemies*) (Volt., *Commentaire sur l'Excuse à Ariste*)<sup>1</sup>. This construction, despite its convenience, has disappeared where the second pronoun is

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *qui*, we often meet with *que il*: *Uns Alemans qui on disoit qu'il avoit esté . . .* (*a German, who they said had been . . .*) (Joinv. 96). This construction was still in use in the 17th century.

nominative ; it survives when this is accusative : *Les fautes que j'ai supposé qu'il ferait* (the mistakes which I supposed he would make). The following example of Joinville (665), *Pour l'amour que il orent veue que li rois m'avoit moustree (montrée)* (because of the love which they had seen the king had shown me), shows, by the agreement of both participles, that we have to deal with two relative pronouns, and that this construction is different from the following, where *que* in the second proposition is a conjunction : *La maison dont je sais que vous êtes propriétaire* [compare the mistakes which I supposed he would make, and the house of which I know that you are the owner].

411. *Quoi*.—We have seen (Book II, § 211) that *quoi*, O. F. *queid*, *quei*, taken from the Latin interrogative *quid*, had acquired a relative function in passing into French, as well as an interrogative. As a relative it was sometimes used in Old French, and very often, from the 14th century, as the neuter object of a preposition, to represent nouns denoting things. In the 17th century it was constantly employed in this way : *Tous ces millions de quoi l'Italie est la receleuse* (all these millions of which Italy is the receiver) (La Rochef. ii. 441). *La principale chose à quoi je me suis attaché* (the chief thing to which I have applied myself) (Rac. ii. 473). *M. de Longueville . . . ouvre la barricade derrière quoi ils étoient retranchés* (M. de Longueville . . . opens the barricade behind which they were intrenched) (Sév. iii. 135). *Les choses avec quoi il est permis de faire fond* (the things on which it is allowable to rely) (La Bruy. i. 374). *Auquel*, &c. would now be used here (see § 412, II). The use of *quoi* with a proper noun as its antecedent was more rare : *Li dus (le duc) de Bourgoingnie de quoi je vous ai parlé* (the Duke of Burgundy, of whom I have spoken to you) (Joinv. 559). *Les Esseniens de quoy parle Pline* (the Essenes of whom Pliny speaks) (Mont. iii. 5). [*Qui* would now be used here for *quoi*, see § 410, ii.]

In the present language *quoi* is scarcely used with an antecedent except when this antecedent is an indeterminate noun such as *chose, rien, ce*. *Il n'est rien à quoi je ne me soumette* (there is nothing to which I would not submit). *C'est en quoi vous vous trompez* (that is where you are mistaken). Besides such cases, *quoi* is used absolutely as a neuter indeterminate relative. *Il n'a pas de quoi payer* (he has not wherewithal to pay). *Obeïsses, moyennant quoi on vous pardonnera* (obey, on consideration of which you will be forgiven).

412. *Lequel*.—The compound pronoun *lequel* appears to be unknown to the Oldest French. It seems to have come into use towards the 13th century; its use extended notably from the 14th to the 15th century, but from that time to the present day it has become more and more restricted.

I. This development naturally took place at the expense of *qui* and *quoi*: *Et la royne (reine) sa femme, laquelle estoit de la maison d'Anjou* (and the queen, his wife, who was of the family of Anjou) (Commynes, 493). *Car il y alloit à la reputation<sup>1</sup>, laquelle les courtisans ne peuvent bonnement desguiser* (for he went by his reputation, which courtiers cannot well disguise) (Des Pér. ii. 189). *Les troys aultres le suivirent . . . excepté Eudemon duquel le cheval s'enfoncea le pied droict . . .* (the three others followed him except Eudaemon, whose horse stuck his right foot . . .) (Rabel. i. 137). Even in the 17th century, although the expression seemed growing antiquated, we find: *Il n'y avoit que ceux de cette famille lesquels pussent exercer la sacrificature* (there were only the members of that family who could perform the sacrificial rites) (Rac. iii. 591). *Je n'avois point lu celle qui parle de Monsieur du Daugnion l'humeur duquel je trouve fort extravagante et son procédé insolent* (I had not yet read the one [letter] that speaks of Monsieur du

<sup>1</sup> [The editor of the text quoted suggests that *réputation* is a mistake for *représentation* = air, appearance.]

*Daignion, whose humour I find very extravagant, and his behaviour insolent*) (La Rochef. iii. 73). *L'éloquence [est] un don de l'âme, lequel nous rend maîtres du cœur des autres* (eloquence [is] a gift of the soul which renders us masters of the hearts of others) (La Bruy. i. 143).

The influence of Latin studies, carrying increasing weight from the 14th century, brought about more definite uses of *lequel* :

(1) With a participle, present or past, to form an absolute phrase corresponding with the Latin ablative absolute :

*Lesquels entres dedans la maison grande  
De leur Saigneur, en brief dire leur vint.*

(Marot, p. 591.)

(Who having entered within the great house  
Of their Lord, shortly there came to them.)

(2) Between a preposition and an infinitive : *Pour laquelle guerre appaisier* (to appease which war) (Joinv. 681). *Pareil exemple avons-nous de Tile Live, pour lequel veoir et ouyr* (a similar example have we in Livy, to see and hear whom) (Rabel. ii. ch. 18).

(3) To introduce a subordinate proposition beginning with any conjunction : *Et tenoient ladite* (ladite) *ville Anguerran de Bournonville et un chevalier . . . lesquels pour ce qu'ils avoient tenu la ville contre le Roy . . . la ville fut pillée* (and did hold the said town Anguerran de Bournonville and a knight . . . who since they had held the town against the king . . . the town was pillaged) (Al. Chartier, *Hist. de Charles VII.* p. 29). *Quelques formes penibles, lesquelles pourveu qu'on oublie par discretion, non pas par erreur, on n'en a pas moins de grace* (some troublesome forms, which, provided one forgets them by discretion, not error, one has no less goodwill therefore) (Mont. i. 13).

Most of these constructions may still be found occasionally in the 17th century.

II. Present custom has restricted the use of *lequel* to the following uses :—

(1) After a preposition, especially when it relates to nouns denoting things : *la table sur laquelle j'écris*.

(2) For the objective genitive of a noun governed by a preposition : *l'homme à la recherche duquel il court*. We shall see that the Old language favoured *dont* in this case.

(3) In order to avoid ambiguity of expression : *l'homme qui m'a parlé de cette affaire, lequel est . . .* where the use of *lequel* (or *laquelle*) instead of *qui* shows that the relative refers to *homme* or *affaire*, as the case may be.

(4) As an attributive adjective with a substantive : *dix mille francs, laquelle somme vous sera remise*. This use, which was very frequent in the 17th century, tends to grow obsolete. Here we now prefer to repeat the antecedent, or to use a second substantive in apposition therewith, before the relative *qui* (or *que*) : *somme qui vous sera remise*. So, instead of saying with La Rochefoucauld : *après lequel temps on lui baillera un passe-port* (after which time he will be handed a passport) (iii. 104), we should use the demonstrative adjective preceded by the conjunction *et* : *et après ce temps*; again, instead of : *jusques à mercredi auquel jour il doit partir* (till Wednesday, the day he is to start) (iii. 116), we should say : *jour qu'il doit partir* or *jour où il . . .* &c.

418. *Dont* (of or from whom or which; whence, whereof, wherefrom, wherefore).—This pronoun, taken from the Latin *deunde*, is, according to its etymology, an interrogative or relative adverb of place, and signifies 'whence,' 'from what place.' It had retained this adverbial function in Old French : *Fist David a lui: Ki (qui) es tu? Dont viens e u où) vas?* (Said David to him, 'Who art thou? Whence comest and whither goest thou?') (Quat. Liv. Rois, 115); and kept it down to the 17th century:

*Et du mont Quirinal et du mont Aventin,  
Dont il l'auroit vu faire une horrible descente.*

(Corn. v. 579.)

(And from Mount Quirinal, and from Mount Aventine, whence they [the Senate] would have seen their [the mutineers'] dreadful descent.)

*Reutre dans le néant dont je t'ai fait sortir.* (Rac. ii. 503.)  
(Return into the nothingness from which I made thee rise.)

*Deux Pères de l'Eglise dont sa seconde proposition était tirée* (two Fathers of the Church, from whom his second proposition was taken) (id. iv. 464).

However, Vaugelas and the Academy only authorize its use in this adverbial sense to note descent or origin: *la race, la maison, dont je sors*. In other cases they require that *d'où* should replace *dont*: *Le pays d'où je reviens. La maison d'où je sors est peu habitée*. This is the present usage.

The adverbial function recurs in the frequent use of *dont* in Old French to express causal relation: *il tomba malade dont tost après il mourut* (he fell sick, whence soon after he died) (Commynes, 469). *Au bout de quelque temps, vint encore ung autre avertissement . . . dont le gouverneur, bruslant de l'amour de son maistre, luy demanda congé de le chasser* (at the end of some time came yet another warning . . . wherefore the governor, burning with love of his master, asked him leave to dismiss him) (Heptam. ii. 96).

*Autour de moy je ne vey (vis) que les boys :  
Dont maintefois l'appellay : Pierre, Pierre.* (Marot, p. 95.)

(Around me I saw only the woods,  
Wherefore often I called thee: Pierre, Pierre.)

On the other hand, from the origin of the language we see *dont* used with the function of a compound relative pronoun and serving to imply all relations indicated by the preposition *de*:

*Ille en ortet* (l'exhorte), *dont lai non que chiell* (ne lui chaut en rien),  
*Ques* (qu') *elle fuit* (sue) *lo nom christian.* (Eulalie, l. 13.)

(He her exhorts, whereof she nothing recks,  
That she should flee the name of Christian.)



*Tant i avrat (aura) de besans caneres (épurés),  
Dont bien porrez (pourrez) vos soldiers loer (soldats louer).  
(Rol. l. 132.)*

(So many besants of fine gold there will be,  
Wherewith well your soldiers you may hire.)

*Le blanc osbert (haubert) dont la maille est menuë. (id. l. 1329.)  
(The hauberk white, of which the mesh is fine.)*

*Dont* was also used to denote other relations which we now express by different prepositions with the relative. We still find in the 17th century traces of this liberty: *L'inquiétude dont vous m'écrivez n'est pas une petite marque de votre amitié (the anxiety of which you write to me is no small mark of your friendship (Corn. x. 478). Ils ont mis du canon sur les hauteurs, dont ils ont rasé les deux tours (they have set cannon on the heights, wherewith they have razed the two towers) (La Rochef. iii. 175). Les Religieuses lui parloient avec tout le sens froid et la gravité dont un archevêque auroit dû parler (the nuns spoke to him with all the calmness and gravity with which an archbishop might have spoken) (Rac. iv. 579). Certaines couleurs changeantes, et qui sont diverses selon les divers jours dont on les regarde (certain changing colours which are different according to the various lights in which they are looked at) (La Bruy. i. 298).*

Lastly, according to the present usage *dont* cannot be used as the complement of a noun which is itself preceded by a preposition: we say *l'homme à la réputation duquel vous voulez nuire (the man to whose reputation you wish to do harm)*, and not *l'homme dont à la réputation vous voulez nuire*, nor *l'homme dont vous voulez nuire à la réputation*. This rule did not hold as late as the 17th century:

*Il est des nœuds secrets, il est des sympathies  
Dont par le doux rapport les âmes assorties  
S'attachent l'une à l'autre. (Corn. iv. 444.)*

(There are ties secret, there are sympathies,  
Through whose sweet bond congenial souls  
Cling unto one another.)

*Je ne vous les donne point dans le même ordre que je vous ai donné le Cid et Pompée, dont en l'un vous avez vu les vers espagnols et en l'autre les latins que j'ai traduits ou imités* (I do not give them to you in the same order [of ideas] in which I gave you the 'Cid' and 'Pompey,' in one of which you saw Spanish verses, in the other, Latin ones, which I translated or imitated) (id. iv. 132).

*L'objet de votre amour, lui, dont à la maison  
Votre imposture enlève un puissant héritage.* (Mol. i. 430.)

(The object of your love, he from whose house  
Your imposture withdraws a great estate.)

414. Où [whither or where, used pronominally in *wherein*, *whereon*, *whereby*, *whereto*, *whereat*].—Like *dont*, the pronoun *où* (Latin *ubi*) is of adverbial origin. And in fact the present language hardly makes use of it save with its etymological signification [of place]: *l'endroit où je vais, d'où je viens, par où je passe, jusqu'où je puis aller*<sup>1</sup>.

The use of *où* down to the 17th century was much more extended.

1. It was used as well with reference to persons as to objects:

*Pour Bertain où tant a (où il y a tant) de bianté.*  
(Berle, l. 1615.)

(Save only Bertha, in whom is such beauty.)

... *il aymoît une dame où jamais n'avoit pensé* (he loved a lady of whom he had never thought before) (*Heptam.* ii. 51). *Voilà la doctrine de Vasquez où vous renvoyez vos lecteurs pour leur édification* (that is the doctrine of Vasquez to whom you refer your readers for their edification) (Pascal, *Prov.* 202). *Ce fils où mon espoir se fonde* (this son on whom my hope is based) (Mol. i. 198). *Les Égyptiens sont les premiers où l'on ait su les règles du gouvernement* (the Egyptians were the first among whom the rules of govern-

<sup>1</sup> In the 17th century they even said *l'endroit vers où je puis aller*.

ment were known) (Boss., *Hist. un.*, iii. 3). *Il a trois ou quatre fils où son cœur s'intéresse bien tendrement* (he has three or four sons in whom his heart is very tenderly interested) (Sév. iii. 73). *Il peut haïr les hommes en général où il y a si peu de vertu* (he may hate men in general, in whom there is so little virtue) (La Bruy. ii. 22).

2. With a noun denoting a thing, not only could *où* replace, as at present, the pronoun *lequel* preceded by a preposition of place, but also the pronouns *lequel* or *quoi* preceded by various prepositions without any definite relation of place: *Fois et creance estoit une chose où nous devons bien croire* (faith and belief were a thing whereon we ought indeed to believe) (Joinv. 45). *Porter patiemment les inconvenients où il n'y a point de remède* (to bear patiently the inconveniences wherefor there is no remedy) (Mont. i. 25).

*D'où me vient ce bonheur où je n'osois penser?* (Corn. ii. 173.)  
(Whence comes to me this joy on which I dared not think!)

*Rallumes cette ardeur où s'opposoit ma mère.* (id. v. 207.)  
(Revive the zeal wherein my mother opposed me.)

*La Bretagne et la Bourgogne me paroissent sous le pôle où je ne prends aucun intérêt* (Brittany and Burgundy seem to me to be under the pole, wherein I take no interest) (Sév. ii. 158). *J'aimerois bien mieux être . . . à lire le Tasse, où je suis d'une habileté qui me surprend moi-même* (I would far rather be reading Tasso, wherein I am of a skill that surprises myself) (id. ii. 285). *Un engagement où il n'est pas propre* (an engagement for which he is not fit) (La Bruy. i. 157). *Ce genre d'écrire où je me suis appliqué* (this mode of writing to which I have applied myself) (id. ii. 437). *Il se voit dans les histoires force gens . . . d'où la plupart ont suivi le chemin de courir au devant des conjurations* (in histories we see many folk . . . most of whom have taken the course of forestalling the conspiracies) (Mont. i. 23). *Qui a gagné un procès, d'où on lui a compté une grosse somme* (who has won a lawsuit for which he was paid a large sum) (La Bruy. i. 269). *Je viens*

*tout à l'heure de recevoir des lettres par où j'apprends que mon oncle est mort* (*I have just received letters whereby I learn that my uncle is dead*) (Mol. vi. 119), &c.

Vaugelas (i. 173) thought this use of *où* both elegant and convenient: he preferred *le mauvais estat où je vous ay laissé* (*the bad state in which I left you*) to *le mauvais état auquel je vous ay laissé*, saying that the latter pronoun 'is usually so harsh in all its cases that our language seems to have provided for this by giving us certain words that are softer and shorter to put in its place, like *où* in this example.' He was right; and the restriction of the use of *où* to its etymological sense since the 18th century is a matter for regret.

415. THE RELATIVE ADVERB *que* (*that*).—The relative pronoun is sometimes replaced by the adverb *que* [cf. Eng. *that*], especially to indicate time: *La dernière fois que je le vis* (*the last time that I saw him*). *Le jour qu'il naquit*. *Y a-t-il longtemps que vous êtes ici?* &c. Herein *que*, we see, is equivalent to the relative governed by a preposition.

These expressions are the remnants of a more widely used construction of the Old language, and were employed in other relations than those of time<sup>1</sup>: *Il les tendroit as (tiendrait aux) us et as costumes que li empereur les avoient tenus* (*he would keep them to the uses and customs that the emperor had kept them to*) (Villeh. 280). *Nous sommes ou (dans le) plus grant péril que nous fussions onques mais (jamais)* (*we are in the greatest danger that we ever were*) (Joinv. 204). *Mais qui voudroit dire que la Greque et Romaine eussent tousiours été en l'excellence qu'on les a veues*

<sup>1</sup> Even to express a relation of time the language used *que* with greater freedom than at present: *Depuis que nous savons l'heure que (Mod. F. à laquelle) vous recevez vos lettres (since we know what time you receive our letters)* (Sév. viii. 306). *Pour un an qui est le temps que (Mod. F. pendant lequel) vous avez affermé le Buron* (*for one year, which is the time that you have farmed Le Buron*) (id. vii. 318).

*du tens d'Homere et de . . . Virgile* (but who would say that Greek and Latin had always been in that perfection in which we have seen them in the time of Homer and of . . . Virgil) (Du Bellay, i. 9). *Mercuré gagne aussitôt le ciel avec la même vitesse qu'il étoit descendu* (Mercury at once gains the sky with the same speed that he had descended) (Corn. v. 276).

*Me voyoit-il de l'œil qu'il me voit aujourd'hui?* (Rac. ii. 63.)  
(Did he view me with the same eyes that he views me to-day?)

*Je mets les choses au rang qu'elles doivent être* (I put things in the order that they ought to be [in]) (Sév. iii. 480). *Je ne puis . . . me résoudre à . . . finir ma lettre avec toute la cérémonie que je dois* (I cannot make up my mind to conclude my letter with all the ceremony that I ought to) (La Rochef. iii. 228). Vaugelas blamed the use of *que* for *avec* followed by a relative (*laquelle*) in the sentence: *dans la confusion que d'abord elles se présentent à elles* (in the confusion in which they first showed themselves to them). Ménage also blamed these verses of Malherbe (i. 159):

*Que de la même ardeur que* (Mod. F. *dont*) *je brûle pour elle*  
*Elle brûle pour moi.*

(That with the same flame wherewith I burn for her  
She burns for me.)

The popular speech has preserved this very convenient and lively use of *que*, which has been lost to the literary language save in the few archaisms indicated above.

On the other hand, it is this same relative adverb which must be recognized in the phrases: *c'est à vous que* (= *à qui*) *je m'adresse*; *c'est de vous que* (= *dont*) *je parle*. Down to the 13th century the compound relative itself was constantly used: *Je m'assure que vous aures de la peine vous-même à reconnoître que c'est à vous . . . à qui je dédie cet ouvrage* (I feel sure that you yourself will have some trouble in recognising that it is to you that I dedicate this work) (Corn. v. 291). *C'est à vous à qui je me fie* (it is you in whom I trust)

(Sév. ix. 299). *C'est du fils du duc de Grammont . . . dont je veux parler* (it is the son of the Duc de Grammont of whom I wish to speak) (id. viii. 30). Side by side with this construction, where both antecedent and relative are indirect objects alike, the 17th century recognized another which it used with equal freedom, making the antecedent the predicate of *c'est* :

*C'est votre illustre mère à qui je veux parler.* (Rac. iii. 655.)

(Tis your illustrious mother to whom I wish to speak.)

What is the origin of this *que*? It must no doubt be regarded either (1) as a neuter pronoun which has extended its meaning, or (2) as the relative *que*, so often used in Old French as a nominative with a masculine or feminine noun denoting either a person or a thing for its antecedent (Book II, § 209), and as an accusative replacing the pronoun *cui* designating a person or persons.

#### V. Interrogative Pronouns.

416. *Qui*.—In Latin the distinction between the relative and the interrogative pronouns, *qui* and *quis*, was so feeble that it was wholly lost in Romanic (Book II, § 210). The interrogative pronoun designating persons is exactly the same as the relative pronoun used absolutely. All that we have said of *qui* without an antecedent is applicable to the interrogative. The passage from the one to the other is visible in the sentences quoted above, such as *Vienne qui voudra* (come who will), and in the following: *Ils disputent à qui l'emportera* (they dispute as to who will win the day); and certain grammarians even consider these constructions as depending on the syntax of the interrogative. For the relative used absolutely (§ 410, ii.), and hence for the interrogative, to designate persons, we have only the form *qui*: *Qui êtes-vous? De qui me parlez-vous? Pour qui me prenez-vous? Qui cherchez-vous?* Down to the 17th century the language used the form *qui* to designate things as well as persons: *Qui rend les tyrans*

*si sanguinaires? C'est le soin de leur seureté (What renders tyrants so sanguinary? 'Tis the care for their safety) (Mont. ii. 27). Qui bailla le consulat au fils de Ciceron que la mémoire de son père? (what gave the consulate to Cicero's son but the memory of his father?) (Malh. ii. 121).*

*Après ce coup, Narcisse, à qui ne dois-je attendre? (Rac. ii. 288.)*

*(After this blow, Narcissus, what may I not expect?)*

*Qui fait l'oiseau? c'est le plumage. (La Font. i. 143.)*

*(What makes the bird? 'tis its plumage.)*

*Qui fait cela en eux et en nous? Ne serait-ce point la force de la vérité? (What effects that in them and in us? May it not be [= Can it be other than] the force of truth?) (La Bruy. ii. 248).*

This use was not quite lost; but *qui* can now only be used to designate things with the help of a periphrase. It is indeed the need of making a distinction between the antecedents of persons and of things that has caused the introduction of such circumlocutions as *qui est-ce qui*, *qu'est-ce qui*: *qui est-ce qui frappe à la porte?* (who is knocking at the door?); *qu'est-ce qui m'arrive?* (what is happening to me?).

417. *Que, quoi.*—The forms *que, quoi*, represent the Latin *quid* (Book II, § 211), *que* being the atonic, and *quoi* the accented form. They refer to things, without distinction of gender.

1. *Que*, the atonic form, can never be preceded by a preposition. It is used in the accusative (1) for the direct object: *que dites-vous?* (2) as a predicate of quality with *être, devenir*: *qu'êtes-vous? que devient-il?* (3) as the logical subject of an impersonal verb: *que vous faut-il? que vous en semble?* or (4) finally, by a curious extension, as a substitute for *à quoi, pour quoi, combien*: *que [= à quoi] sert la science sans la vertu?* (what is the use of knowledge without virtue?). *Qu' [= pourquoi] avez-vous à gémir?* (what have you to groan for?). *Que [= pourquoi] n'obéissez-*

*vous?* (*why do you not obey?*). *Que [= combien] je suis malheureux!* (*how unhappy I am!*). We have here an absolute use of the accusative.

The periphrase *qu'est-ce qui* of which we have spoken (§ 416) has by analogy led up to the locution *qu'est-ce que*<sup>1</sup>. *Qu'est-ce que vous cherchez?* Popular custom lengthens this out into *Qu'est-ce que c'est que . . .?* equivalent to *Quelle chose est la chose laquelle est cela que . . .?* (*what thing is the thing which is that which . . .?*).

2. *Quoi*, being the accented form, occurs after prepositions: *C'est à quoi je pense. De quoi s'agit-il?*

Old French sometimes used *quoi* as the direct object: *quoi ferai-je?* This use has disappeared except before a monosyllabic infinitive, *quoi faire?* *quoi dire?* (*what is to be done, said?*) being still employed alongside of *que faire*, *que dire?* Before a polysyllabic infinitive or a finite verb *quoi* is replaced by the atonic *que*: *que penser*, *que ferai-je?*

However, the chief modern use of *quoi* (other than the above), is its employment absolutely, either as an interrogative or an exclamation. *Qu'y a-t-il?* *Quoi?* (*What's the matter?* *Eh?*) *Quoi de plus beau!*

418. *Quel*, *lequel*.—1. The modern language distinguishes an interrogative adjective *quel*, used as an attributive: *quel âge avez-vous?* (*what age are you?*); or as a predicate: *quel est-il?* (*what is he?*)—from an interrogative substantive-pronoun *lequel*: *lequel des deux préférez-vous?* (*which of the two do you prefer?*).

This distinction dates only from the 18th century. The Old language, in fact, used *quel* equally as a substantive-pronoun and an adjective. *Quant il venoit devant le roi si*

<sup>1</sup> We find traces of this periphrase in Old French: *Que est ce (ce) que est avenud (arrivé) a Saül?* (*what is this that hath happened to Saul?*) (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 34). *Quel est ce firent li altre (les autres), que faire devons (devons)?* (*'What is it,' said the others, 'that we should do?'*) (*id.* 20).



*li soleil li reis demander: Sur quels as ui curud (couru)?* (when he came before the king, the king was wont to ask of him, 'Against whom hast thou gone to-day?') (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 107). *Retournons à nostre propos. Quel? dist Gargantua* ('Let us return to our subject.' 'Which?' says Gargantua) (*Rabel. i. 54*).

*Quels de vos diamants me faut-il lui porter?* (*Corn. iv. 319*)  
(Which of your diamonds must I take to him?)

*Quel de vous, O grands dieux, avec tant de furie*  
*Veut détruire tant de beaulté?* (*Mol. viii. 371*.)

(Which of you, O great gods, with so much rage  
Wills to destroy such beauty?)

We may note, however, as late as Lamartine :

*Quelle de mes tristes pensées*  
*Avec tes flots n'a pas coulé?* (*Harmonies*, ii. 5.)

(Which of my sad thoughts  
With thy waves has not flowed?)

The use of *quel*, even as an adjective, was not in the Old language quite identical with that of the present day. Now it designates the nature of the person or thing, and is a simple equivalent of the pronoun *qui*: *quels sont-ils?* now signifies the same thing as *qui sont-ils?* Accordingly we frequently find, from the 17th century, *qui* occurring as a predicate instead of *quel*:

*Entre tant d'animaux, qui sont ceux qu'on estime?*  
(*Boil. Sat. v. 30*.)

(Among so many beasts, which are those we esteem?)

So, too, we very frequently find *qui* substituted for *quel* in indirect questions: *Pour juger qui est le bien d'une chose* (to judge what is the virtue of a thing) (*Malh. ii. 587*). *Que . . . le lecteur apprenne . . . qui sont les principaux des Grecs* (that the reader may learn who are the chief of the Greeks) (*Rac. vi. 198*). *Si vous observez avec soin qui sont les gens qui ne peuvent louer* (if you note carefully who are the people who cannot praise) (*La Bruy. i. 235*).

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*Quel* also refers, in the present language, to order or place: *quel âge avez-vous? quelle heure est-il?* Old and Middle French frequently used for this purpose the adjective *quant*: *Et a quanz ans enfant sont en aage por terre tenir?* (and at how many years are children of age to hold land?) (Beaumanoir, xv. 1).

On the other hand, down to the 17th century *quel* designated quality also, and hence corresponded exactly with the Latin *qualis*:

*Quelle fut sa réponse! Et quel devins-je Arcas?* (Rac. iii. 153.)  
(What was his answer! And how did my face turn, Arcas!)

*Il faut regarder quel est un prince et non quels ont été ses pères* (you must look at what a prince is, and not what his fathers have been) (id. vi. 296). *Vous savez quels ils sont* (you know what they are) (La Rochef. iii. 120). *Il s'insinue dans un cercle de personnes respectables et qui ne savent quel il est* (he insinuates himself into a circle of worthy persons who do not know what he is) (La Bruy. i. 165). The present language in this case usually replaces *quel* by *que* in direct questions, and by *ce que* in indirect questions: *Que devins-je? Vous savez ce qu'ils sont.*

2. *Lequel* as an interrogative, like *lequel* as a relative, only penetrated into use towards the 13th century. Formerly it was used equally as an adjective and as a pronoun: thus La Fontaine still says: *L'auteur a voulu éprouver lequel caractère est le plus propre pour rimer des contes* (the author has wished to test which form is fittest for the rhyming of stories) (iv. 4). At the present day the interrogative *lequel* is always a pronoun, and designates more especially persons or things selected from a class determined either by what precedes or follows: *Voici deux livres: lequel désirez-vous? Lequel des trois avez-vous vu?*

In the Old language *lequel* was freely used [absolutely] as a neuter in the sense of *what thing?* *Or vous demant-je, fist-il, lequel america miez, ou que vous fussiés mesiaux*

(*lépreux*) *ou que vous eussiez fait un pechié mortel* ('now I ask you,' said he, 'which of the two you would like better, either to be leprous or to have committed a deadly sin?') (Joinv. 27). *Or regarde doncques . . . lequel des deux tu esiras* (now just see . . . which of the two you will choose) (Alain Chartier, *Le Curial*, p. 395). This usage, which was not unknown in the 17th and 18th centuries, seems now to have become antiquated.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE VERB

419. THE VERB.—The grammarians of Port-Royal have defined the verb as *a word which expresses affirmation*. They reduce all verbs to a proposition formed by the verb *être*, the so-called 'substantive verb,' and a present participle. They thus recognize but one verb, the substantive verb, which essentially affirms the existence of the relation between the subject and its attribute.

This theory has dominated the whole teaching of grammar almost down to the present day; it is still the basis of the so-called 'logical analysis' of the sentence in French. The theory is false; for it is contradicted by the historical development of languages and by the analysis of the facts.

As far as we know, in no language whatever does a verb arise as a combination of the verb 'to be' and an attribute. The verb 'to be,' on the contrary, seems to have been one of the latest abstract products of language: in certain languages it is almost or completely unknown. If we consider Latin and the Romance languages alone, we see no trace of a periphrase like this having preceded the simple forms.

On the other hand, let us see the value of the analysis put forward. Is it correct to say that *le soleil brille* is equal to *le soleil est brillant*? Here, *brillant* is either an adjective of quality or a present participle. If *brillant* is an adjective, it expresses a quality, and not an act; *le soleil est brillant*, then, expresses quite a different thing from *le soleil brille*. If *brillant* is a present participle, and denotes an action: *le soleil est brillant*—that is, at this moment—whence comes this property of the participle to denote the action, if not because this participle itself comes from a verb?

It is therefore a vicious circle to turn *brille* into a verb of affirmation *est*, and a participle of action *brillant*, whose sole value lies in its coming from the verb.

As we have already seen, the function of a verb consists in expressing action; and it expresses this by the help of various modifications, which, considered as a whole, constitute what is called conjugation. We shall define the verb as *a word which, by various inflexions, expresses what mode of activity is presented by either the persons or objects spoken of.*

For activity presents itself in various aspects. Sometimes the subject is considered as performing, sometimes as suffering the action: this difference is expressed by the voices. The conditions of this action may vary in diverse ways or manners, called moods. The action in these various moods may present itself at various moments of time. Hence a collection of inflexions which constitute the tenses. Lastly, this activity, with its variety of voices, moods, and tenses, is expressed in relation to definite grammatical persons. These are called the persons of speech; and these persons again vary in number. We shall have then, in the syntactic study of the verb, to consider voice, mood, tense, person, number.

SECTION I.—*The Voices.*

420. Voices and verbal forms.

- I. **ACTIVE VOICE.**—421. The active voice.—422. Transitive verbs.—423. Intransitive verbs.—424. Passage from the intransitive to the transitive.—425. Pronominal verbs.—426. Pronominals proper, or subjective pronominals.—427. Pronominal improper or reflexive verbs and reciprocal verbs.—428. The assimilation of the two classes of pronominal verbs.—429. Impersonal verbs.—430. Periphrastic verbs.—431. Periphrase formed by an auxiliary and a participle or gerund.—432. Periphrase formed by an auxiliary and an infinitive.
- II. **PASSIVE VOICE.**—433. The passive voice.—434. Passive of transitive verbs.—435. Passive of intransitive verbs.—436. Passive use of reflexive verbs.—437. Passive of impersonal verbs.—438. Passive of periphrastic verbs.

**420. VOICES AND VERBAL FORMS.**—There are two voices: the **active voice** and the **passive voice**. Each comprises five forms: the **transitive**, the **intransitive**, the **pronominal**, the **impersonal**, and the **periphrastic**. Of these five forms the three first are closely related to one another; the fourth is a special form of expression which may be assumed by any of the three first forms; lastly, the fifth is a form of expression which may be assumed by any of the other four.

I. **Active Voice.**

**421. THE ACTIVE VOICE.**—The active voice is that in which the action is considered as performed by the subject: the subject acts, that is, is *active*.

**422. TRANSITIVE VERBS.**—The transitive verb expresses an action, the object of which (when it has one) is a noun or a pronoun directly connected with the verb without the help of a preposition (expressed or understood). The action passes direct to the object without any intermediary: *Pierre frappe Paul*.

The relations of the verb with both subject and object are varied.

I. The indirect object denoting the *instrument of the action* may become by personification or metaphor the sub-

ject of the verb: *Pierre a frappé Paul d'un bâton. Le bâton qui a frappé Paul.* This occurs with the verbs *charger, coiffer, émouvoir, encombrer, garnir, habiller, irriter, neubler, nuire, remuer, toucher*, and many others. From these metaphorical constructions, as well as from the construction of the pronominal verb which we shall study later on, follows the consequence that the past participle may have three different origins: *Coiffé d'un chapeau* may refer to a man (i) *qui a été coiffé d'un chapeau par quelqu'un* (whom some one has covered with a hat), (ii) *qu'un chapeau coiffe* (whom a hat covers), (iii) *qui se coiffe d'un chapeau* (who covers himself with a hat).

2. Direct and indirect objects may exchange places, the direct becoming indirect and *vice versa*; one or other in the new construction may even be suppressed. But this change does not take place without affecting more or less deeply the signification of the verb. *Charger un fardeau sur ses épaules* (to load a burden on one's shoulders) becomes *charger ses épaules d'un fardeau* (to load one's shoulders with a burden). Similarly we say:

- { *Assurer quelqu'un de son aide* (to assure a person of one's help).
- { *Assurer son aide à quelqu'un* (to assure one's help to any one).
- { *Changer un livre de place* (to shift a book from its place).
- { *Changer la place d'un livre* (to change the place of a book).
- { *Débarrasser la table des plats* (to clear the table of the dishes).
- { *Débarrasser les plats de la table* (to clear the dishes from the table).
- { *Dépouiller quelqu'un de ses vêtements* (to strip some one of his clothes).
- { *Dépouiller ses vêtements* (to take off one's clothes).
- { *Dépouiller l'artifice* (to unveil or put off the artifice).

- Dérober quelqu'un de quelque chose* (archaic) (to rob some one of something).
- Dérober quelque chose à quelqu'un* (to take away something from some one).
- Quitter* (Mod. F. acquitter) *quelqu'un d'une dette*: *Envoyez-moi cet habit et ces bijoux de Philémon*; *je vous quitte de la personne* (send me that coat and those jewels of Philemon's; I hold you quit of his person) (La Bruy. i. 160).
- Quitter une dette à quelqu'un* (to remit a debt): hence, by extension, the sense 'to abandon' or 'leave': *quitter l'empire, quitter le monde*.

3. Another modification consists in rendering the verb factitive.

The original meaning of *accompagner* is 'to go in company with any one,' as in *il les accompagne partout*; it signifies also 'to put or send in company with': *il accompagne cette ode d'une autre petite* (he accompanies this ode with another little one) (Rac. vi. 43).

*Accoutumer* had in former times the sense of 'to make customary to oneself, to practise the use of': *L'après-dîner nous avons accoutumé de nous assembler sous quelques arbres* (after dinner we were accustomed to gather together under some trees) (D'Urfé, *Astrée*, i. 6, p. 351). *Saint Paul cite ici selon les Septante comme il avoit accoutumé* (Saint Paul here quotes from the Septuagint as was his practice) (Bossuet, *Hist. Univ.* ii. 20). Even at the present day in the past participle we have: *à l'heure accoutumée* (at the accustomed hour). It has now taken the sense of 'to bring any one to practise,' *to accustom a person*: *accoutumer les enfants à l'obéissance* (to accustom children to obedience).

*Allaiter* signified in Old French, 'to suck.' *Fist détruire les humes* (hommes), *les femmes, les petis, les alailans* (had the men, the women, the children, the sucklings destroyed) (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 88). At an early period it became factitive with the sense 'to suckle.'

*Apprendre*, literally speaking, means 'to lay hold of, to seize, to apprehend' (and hence 'to learn'). It is used in this primitive sense in *apprendre sa leçon*. Old French used it in a factitive sense = *to make to learn, teach*, taking the person taught as the direct object; Vaugelas still wrote: *Oiseaux qu'ils ont appris à chanter toutes sortes de ramages* (birds that they have taught to sing all kinds of strains) (Quinte Curce, viii. 9), and we still say *personne mal apprise* (ill-bred person)<sup>1</sup>.

*Approcher* signifies *devenir proche* (to come near). *Rien n'approche en rigueur la loi* (nothing approaches the law in strictness). It may also be equivalent to *faire devenir proche* (to bring near): *Approchez la chaise*.

*Égaler* signifies 'to be equal to': *le total égale dix francs*; and also 'to make equal': *la mort égale tous les hommes*.

The original meaning of *éloigner* was 'to become distant.' *Norent mie eslongie (n'eurent pas éloignée) la ville plus d'une lieue* (they had not left the town more than a league distant) (Villeh. 406). It signified at the same time, as at the present day, *rendre éloigné* = 'to make distant,' 'to remove': *éloignez cette chaise*.

4. The transitive verb may express the action absolutely, without passing it to an object. This was a property of the Latin verb which French has developed: *boire du vin*, *il aime à boire*;—*chanter un air*, *il chante bien*;—*écrire une lettre*, *il ne sait pas écrire*. An unlimited number of examples of this use might be quoted.

A more or less frequent employment of this absolute form may transform the transitive into an intransitive; thus we have the transitive in *décider une question*; the absolute use in: *je n'ose décider*; the intransitive use in: *décider d'une affaire* (to decide about an affair). Certain verbs have thus passed totally or partially from transitive

<sup>1</sup> The English *to teach* has both the obsolete and the modern uses of *apprendre* as a synonym of *enseigner*: *apprendre un oiseau à chanter* (obs.) (to teach a bird to sing); *apprendre une chanson à un oiseau* (to teach a song to a bird).



to intransitive: *Ignorer une chose. Pour que nul n'en ignore.—Penser quelque chose. Penser à quelque chose.*

Such are the principal remarks we have to make on the nature of the transitive verb. Observation and analysis will discover others.

**423. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.**—It is impossible to say *a priori* when the action presents itself in the transitive or the intransitive form; the analysis of the idea contained in the verb cannot enlighten us on this point. It is only a custom of language, and not a habit of thought, which decides whether the object of the action shall be connected with the verb by a preposition or not. This is why a given verb may be transitive in French when the corresponding verb is intransitive in Latin; and, again, why any transitive verb may become intransitive, and *vice versa*, according to our standpoint in regarding the verbal action.

Before we examine these changes we must mention a fact to which we shall revert below—the use of the auxiliary with intransitive verbs. Intransitives form their compound tenses with the auxiliary *avoir* or *être*, according as they denote either the action itself, or the result of the action, respectively. At the present time a few are construed only with the auxiliary *être*: *aller, arriver, décider, échoir, éclore, mourir, naître, venir*; some with either of the two auxiliaries, according to the idea we wish to express: *cesser, demeurer, échapper, passer, accourir, apparaître, disparaître, &c.*; a still larger number only with the verb *avoir*: *courir, croître, dormir, marcher, vivre, succomber, &c.* Before this stage was reached usage varied greatly; the Old language had far more freedom and was mainly influenced in each particular case by the train of thought.

**424. PASSAGE FROM THE INTRANSITIVE TO THE TRANSITIVE.**—Let us now consider what changes an intransitive verb may undergo.

1. The intransitive becomes directly transitive by a new conception of the action : *aider à quelqu'un, aider quelqu'un ; approcher de, approcher : comencent la rivage à aprochier* (they begin to approach the shore) (Villeh. 172) ; *contredire, croire, à quelqu'un ; contredire, croire quelqu'un*<sup>1</sup> ; — *courir vers, sur quelqu'un* (to run towards any one) ; *courir le cerf* (to run after, i. e. hunt, the stag) ; — *fuir d'un lieu* (to flee from a place) ; *fuir un lieu* (to shun a place) ; — *servir à quelqu'un* (to be of use to some one) ; *servir quelqu'un* (to serve some one) ; — *user de quelque chose* (to use a thing) ; *user quelque chose* (to wear out a thing), &c. Some verbs are intransitive when used absolutely, transitive with an object : *bouder* (to sulk or sulk with), *gronder* (to grumble or scold), *siffler* (to whistle, hiss).

In this passage from the intransitive to the transitive the verb may sometimes stop half-way. Thus *coûter* and *valoir* are intransitive verbs in the literal sense, and transitive in a figurative sense. In *le livre coûte or vaut cinq francs, cinq francs* is an adverbial complement, and not a direct object, whilst figuratively, in *les peines que ses travaux lui ont coûtées, les dignités qu'ils lui ont values* (the pains which his works have cost him, the dignities they have won him), both verbs become transitive, the one being equivalent to *imposer* (to put upon), the other to *rapporter* (to bring in to), and consequently the past participle agrees with the antecedent object (§ 458, III).

Further on (§ 435) we shall see intransitives used in the passive voice as if they were transitives.

2. The language may change intransitives into transitives by giving them a factitive sense. Thus *mourir* in Old French has the sense of *faire mourir* (to kill), especially in the past participle : *Il aimerait mieux (mieux) que li Sarrasin les eussent tous mors et pris* (he had rather that the Saracens had killed and taken them all) (Joinv. 302) ;

<sup>1</sup> In the foregoing verbs the senses of the transitive and intransitive forms are hardly distinguishable.

*périr* had the sense of *faire périr* (to destroy): *ne perissons la grant honor* (let us not destroy the great honour) (Villeh. 198); *tomber* that of *faire tomber*:

*Et les tombe autour de sa roe  
Du sommet envers en la boe.*

(*Rom. de la Rose*, l. 5616.)

(And [Fortune] makes them fall around her wheel  
From the top down into the mire.)

Modern Popular French has retained this factitive sense of *tomber* (especially = to throw in wrestling). Similarly also *arrêter* (to stop), intransitive in Old French (and still so used, but only in the imperative, *arrêtez !*), has become a factitive transitive in *arrêter quelqu'un* (to arrest or stop any one). Another instance is found in *le travail cesse* and *cesser le travail*. The verbs *descendre*, *désespérer*, *monter*, *passer*, *sonner*, *sortir*, and a great number of others, essentially intransitive, have become through the factitive sense transitives; we say *descendre*, *désespérer*, &c., *quelqu'un*, *quelque chose*, meaning 'to cause a person to descend, despair,' &c.

3. The intransitive may assume the appearance of a transitive when it is followed by a substantive used as a direct object, and derived from the same stem, or expressing a kindred idea. This use of the intransitive with a *cognate accusative* was a frequent proceeding in Latin: *vitam tutiorem vivere* (to live a safer life), *justam servitutem servire* (to serve a lawful servitude), *insanire similem errorem* (to be mad of a like error). It was extremely frequent in Old French poetry, which delighted to give every verb, whether transitive or intransitive, an objective from the same stem, and to say *donner grans dons*, *armer d'une armure*, *mourir de mort*, *haïr de haine*, &c. Hence we find in Chrestien de Troyes:

*Que que il son conte contoit.* (*Cheval. au lion*, l. 61.)  
(While he told his tale.)

*Jors (jours) i sejourna, ne sai quans.* (id. l. 47000.)  
(Days he sojourned I know not how many.)

*Tous cuido* (tel croit) *avoir*  
*Le jeu jos* (joué) *qui puis le pert.* (Err. l. 5924.)

(One thinks to have played out the game, who later loses it.)

In Modern French this usage belongs only to the elevated style: *combattre le bon combat; il a vécu sa vie; dormez votre sommeil, riches de la terre* (sleep your slumber, rich ones of the earth) (Boss., *Orais. fun. de le Tellier*). It is also found in certain familiar locutions: *jouer un jeu d'enfer* (to play recklessly high), *dormir un somme* (to take a nap), &c.

4. Intransitives may become transitive with a direct object expressing the cause of the action. Already in Latin we find *lacrimare, plorare aliquid* (to weep, to mourn something). So *pleurer sur la mort de quelqu'un* has led to *pleurer la mort de quelqu'un*. Hence verbs essentially intransitive, such as *lamentar, plaindre, soupirer*, &c., are construed with a direct object. So we say of bugle-calls: *sonner la charge, sonner la victoire*. The expressions *crier merci*, and *crier une marchandise, crier un bulletin*, take us back to the time when *crier* was used transitively for the same reason.

This use occurs also with verbs expressing a sensation. In Latin we have *olere vinum* (to smell of wine), *sapere herbam* (to taste of grass); in French we say: *embaumer la rose, sentir le tabac*, &c. This use has extended figuratively to other transitive verbs: *empester, empoisonner, l'ail*<sup>1</sup>.

Lastly it occurs with verbs expressing motion to denote (1) the place where the motion takes place: *courir* (les rues, un danger), *monter* (l'escalier), *passer* (la rivière); or (2) the kind of motion: *aller* (le galop, le trot, le pas) in Old French; *ce cheval va l'amble* is still used in Modern French. We may note that, as certain intransitive verbs are construed with the auxiliary *être*, we arrive at the

<sup>1</sup> [But *goûter* is never used in this way, *sentir* being used instead; *sentir le vinaigre* may mean either to taste or to smell of vinegar.]

construction : *il est allé son chemin* (Mod. French; = *he is gone his way*), *il est passé la mer* (Old French).

5. An intransitive may become transitive by composition : *courir par les champs, parcourir les champs*;—*monter sur quelque chose, surmonter quelque chose*;—*passer sur quelqu'un, surpasser quelqu'un*, &c. In this French follows the tradition of Latin : we have here a tendency, and not a law ; for many compounds of intransitives remain intransitive, like *contrevenir* : *contrevenir à la loi*; and, if Old and Middle French used *survivre quelqu'un*, Modern French uses *survivre à quelqu'un*.

Summing up, we see that to change, either really or apparently, the intransitive into the transitive, French has recourse to various processes. In the case of some verbs we find most of these processes used simultaneously. Thus *monter* gives *monter un objet* (transitive factitive—in the sense of *to mount a drawing*), *monter la montagne* (transitive by repetition of the stem), *monter l'escalier* (transitive by indication of the place).—The original sense of *sonner* (*to sound*) is given in *la cloche sonne* (*the bell sounds*); the derivative transitive senses may be found in : *sonner la cloche*, *la cloche sonne l'heure*, *la cloche sonne un son fêlé*, *la trompette sonne la charge*, *sonner quelqu'un* (*to ring up a person*). These various changes are not made mechanically, but are induced by the constant living action of thought, which handles the language as it will.

425. PRONOMINAL VERBS.—Grammarians divide these verbs into essentially pronominal and accidentally pronominal. This division, although useful in practice, is yet artificial, and tells us nothing of the inner nature of the pronominal verb. It is only by mere chance that some verbs are 'accidentally,' others 'essentially' pronominal; a verb may in the history of the language pass from one class to the other. Thus, in Old French, *absenter quelqu'un* was used to mean *to keep a person away*, and even

in the beginning of the 17th century we find : *De toi il n'aurait absentée* (he would have kept me away from thee) (Hardy, *Théagène et Cariclée*, 1<sup>ère</sup> journée, iv. 1); so, *adonner quelqu'un à quelque chose : A raison de quoy il le fault tous-jours adonner à ce qui est le meilleur* (for which reason one must always direct it [the mind] to what is best) (Amyot, *Périclès*, 88). Montaigne wrote : *Nous repentons, mocquons, escrions, enquérons* (we repent, mock, exclaim, enquire) (ii. 12), &c. [Hence it is a misnomer to call *s'absenter*, *se repentir*, &c., essentially pronominal.] We must therefore seek another basis for subdivision ; and we divide pronominal verbs into two classes : the pronominal proper, or subjective, and the pronominal improper, or reflexive.

#### 426. PRONOMINALS PROPER, OR SUBJECTIVE PRONOMINALS.

—These are verbs in which the reflexive pronoun has a merely *subjective* value.

(1) It is a fact peculiar to Romance languages (and which may doubtless be traced back to Popular Latin) that they can conjugate intransitive verbs, which themselves express a complete action, with a reflexive pronoun, whose sole purpose is to set in a clearer light the intimate and spontaneous character of the action.

Thus in Old French we have : *il crie* and *il se crie* ; *il écrit* and *il s'écrit* ; *il apparaît* and *il s'apparaît* ; *il disparaît*, *il se disparaît* ; *il deut*, *il se deut* (he complains, grieves) ; *il dort*, *il se dort* ; *il évanouit*, *il s'évanouit* ; *il hâte*, *il se hâte* ; *il craint*, *il se craint* ; *il doute*, *il se doute* ; *il tait*, *il se tait* ; *il vit*, *il se vit* ; *il meurt*, *il se meurt* ; *il pense*, *il se pense* ; *il va*, *il se va* ; *il fuit*, *il s'enfuit*, &c.

All intransitive verbs could be conjugated in this double form. Thus *taisir* (*taire*) : *Tais, Oliviers* (be silent, Oliver) (*Rol.* l. 1026) ; *Franceis se taisent* (the French say no more) (*id.* l. 217) ; — *pasmer* (*pâmer*) : *quant vit pasmer Rollant* (when he saw Roland faint) (*id.* l. 2222) ; *sur son cheval se pasmet* (he faints on his horse) (*id.* l. 1988) ; — *périr* : *sens*

*vous (sans vous) ne puis périr (without you I cannot die)* (Bartsch, *Chrestom.* p. 218); *la crestientés . . . se perit entre vos mains (Christianity perishes in your hands)* (Joinv. 61);—*dormir*: *li abbes de Cheminon dormoit (the abbot of Cheminon slept)* (id. 121); *toutes les fois qu'elle se dormoit en son lit (every time that she slept in her bed)* (id. 121);—*entrer*: *Si s'en entra en une chambre (he entered into a chamber)* (Villeh. 186);—*penser*: *Il se penserent que (they bethought them that)* (Joinv. 219), &c. So we still find in the 17th century *s'apparaître, se disparaître, s'éclater, s'éclore*, side by side with *apparaître, disparaître, éclater, éclore*.

We may particularly note certain verbs of motion, which are in this case preceded by the adverb *en* (meaning *away*): *aller, s'aller* (obs.), *s'en aller*; *fuir, se fuir* (obs.), *s'enfuir*; *courir, se courir* (obs.), *s'en courir* (arch.), &c.

Finally we may note that these intransitive pronominal verbs could, like simple intransitives, be followed by an indirect object : *jouer avec quelqu'un*, *se jouer avec quelqu'un* (to trifle with anyone), *se jouer de quelqu'un* (to make sport of anyone).

(2) Following the pattern of the last constructions, certain transitive verbs have also been changed into pronominals and now take an indirect object which in the transitive construction would have been the direct object :

*apercevoir quelque chose—s'apercevoir de quelque chose*

*aviser* " " — *s'aviser*

*moquer* (O. F.<sup>1</sup>), *railler* — *se moquer*, *se railler de quel-  
quelqu'un* *qu'un.*

**These expressions, apparently so odd, arose from analogy with intransitive verbs used with the subjective pronoun *se*.**

Thus, originally *jouer* was intransitive, and we still say *jouer avec quelqu'un*; it has given as subjective pronominal *se jouer avec quelqu'un, se jouer de quelqu'un*. Now it is on the model of intransitive pronominals like this that the

<sup>1</sup> *Moquer* was formerly a transitive verb, and is still used transitively in the phrase *il est moqué de tous*.

transitive pronominals have been formed. Consequently it would be a grave error to explain such expressions as *s'apercevoir d'une chose* by making the pronoun *se* the logical direct object of the verb. *S'apercevoir d'une chose* is not equivalent to *apercevoir soi d'une chose*, which is nonsense. When Malherbe says *se dédaigner de quelque chose* (to think a thing unworthy of oneself) (Malh. ii. 185), he constructs the idiom on the pattern of *se jouer de quelqu'un*, so as to give a stronger subjective idea to the verb *dédaigner*. It is because the pronoun *se* has here the semblance, not the reality, of a direct object, that the true direct object must be changed into an indirect object.

Such is the true history of these pronominal verbs; their introduction into usage is only due to the extension of the type, originally formed by the language for the intransitives, to transitive verbs also.

As the pure intransitives when expressing the result of the action may be conjugated with the auxiliary *être*, it is not surprising that intransitive pronominals, which specially express the result of the action, are also conjugated with *être*. The old forms were *il évanouit*, *il est évanoui*; we now say, still using the auxiliary *être*, *il s'évanouit*, *il s'est évanoui*. Naturally this construction was extended and applied to the transitive pronominals, formed on the model of the intransitive pronominals: *il s'est aperçu de la chose*.

Of course in this construction the participle agrees with the subject. Since there is no difference between *il est évanoui* and *il s'est évanoui*, and in the former construction the participle agrees with the subject, the same concord was bound to occur in the latter.

Thus the Old French forms were :

Sing. *il est évanouï*<sup>1</sup>  
*il s'est évanouï*

Plur. *il sont évanouï*  
*il se sont évanouï.*

<sup>1</sup> The *s* being the symbol of the nom. sing. as well as of the accus. plur.; see Book II, § 176.



This rule had no exception. In pronominal transitives created on this pattern the construction is the same, and the participle agrees with the subject.

**427. PRONOMINAL IMPROPER OR REFLEXIVE VERBS AND RECIPROCAL VERBS.**—Pronominal improper or reflexive verbs are either transitive or intransitive, according as the action which they denote passes directly (without a preposition), or indirectly (with a preposition), to an object, which in this particular case is identical with the subject :

*Pierre frappe Paul.*—*Pierre se frappe* (direct object).

*Pierre nuit à Paul.*—*Pierre se nuit* (indirect object).

In certain cases there is a double subject and the action is reciprocal ; then the verb is called a reciprocal :

*Pierre loue Paul et Paul loue Pierre.*—*Pierre et Paul se louent* (direct object).

*Pierre nuit à Paul et Paul nuit à Pierre.*—*Pierre et Paul se nuisent* (indirect object).

The conjugation of reciprocal verbs being indistinguishable from that of reflexive verbs, there is no need to treat them separately.

Reflexive pronominals offer no peculiarity save in their compound tenses.

The use of the auxiliary *être* in the compound tenses of these verbs seems surprising. We say : *J'ai loué Pierre*, but *je me suis loué* ; *j'ai nuit à Pierre*, but *je me suis nuit*. Why this change of auxiliary ? The use of the auxiliary *être* is not primitive, if we may judge by the numerous examples of the use of *avoir* in old texts : *s'ad (s'a) a Deu comandet* (he has commended himself to God) (*Alexis*, 58, c) ; *il se out desafubled* (he had taken off his garments) (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, p. 75, note 1) ; *s'a et vestu et chaucié (chaussé)* (he both clad and shod himself) (*Amis et Amiles*, l. 2321), &c. But at an early period the language confused the con-

jugation of reflexive pronominals with that of subjective pronominals:

*Sempres mourrai, mais chier me sui vendus.*

(*Rol. I. 2053.*)

(Soon shall I die; but I have sold myself dear.)

*Vengies m'en sui, mais n'i ad traison.* (*id. I. 3778.*)

(I avenged myself of this, but there was no treason.)

The two classes, in fact, were identical in all the simple tenses: e. g. *je me dors, je me dormais, je me dormirai*, a subjective pronominal; *je me mors, je me mordais, je me mordrai*, a reflexive pronominal. This identity was carried on to the compound tenses, and led to: *je me suis, je m'étais, je me serai mordu*, just as they said *je me suis, je m'étais, je me serai dormi*. The confusion was such that the language came to use the auxiliary *être* in the compound tenses of any verb that happened by the hazard of syntactical construction to be preceded by a reflexive pronoun, even when it was neither a subjective nor a reflexive pronominal. For instance in the 17th century we find on the one hand: *il veut partir, il peut partir*; on the other *il se veut promener, il se peut promener*<sup>1</sup>; the pronoun *se* here belonging to the infinitive following. Now, in compound tenses, whilst in Modern French we say both *il a voulu, il a pu partir*, and *il a voulu, il a pu se promener*, the 17th century said *il a voulu, il a pu partir*, but *il s'est voulu, il s'est pu promener*: *Il semble que Dieu se soit voulu jouer dans la construction de l'univers* (*it seems that God wished to disport himself in the construction of the universe*<sup>2</sup>) (*Rac. vi. 283*).

*Et Mignot aujourd'hui s'est voulu surpasser.*

(*Boll. Sat. III. l. 124.*)

(And Mignot wished to-day to surpass himself.)

This analogical action extended yet further. Since, with subjective pronominals, as we have seen, the participle agrees with the subject, the same construction will be found with the reflexive pronominals. Thus we have in

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. F.*: *Il veut, il peut se promener.*

<sup>2</sup> From a note on the Commentaries of Proclus on Plato.

Old French : *il s'est loen, il se sont loé* (Mod. F. : *il s'est loué, ils se sont loués*), the participle agreeing with the subject. This agreement with the subject even held good when the second pronoun was the indirect object and the pronominal verb was followed by a direct object : *Il s'est donné* (sing.) *un coup* ; *il se sont donné* (plur.) *des cols*<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, in all these cases, whatever the function of the verb, whether it was a subjective or a reflexive (or reciprocal) pronominal, and whether, in the latter case, there was a single direct object, the reflexive pronoun, or two objects, the one direct, the other indirect, the participle agreed with the subject. The auxiliary used being *être*, the form and not the sense determined the concord. In Modern French all these relations have been changed, as we shall see when dealing with the theory of the participle (§ 458, III, 3, p. 774).

**428. THE ASSIMILATION OF THE TWO CLASSES OF PRONOMINAL VERBS.**—The second class of pronominals having been assimilated to the first, there has resulted a series of consequences which we must now elucidate.

I. Most of the intransitives, properly so called, could at one time be construed either with or without the reflexive pronoun : *il tait, il se tait* ; *il court, il se court* or *s'en court*. Similarly, certain transitive reflexive pronominal verbs may dispense with the reflexive pronoun and change from transitives into intransitives. The following alternative forms are or have been used :

<i>La lune se lève</i>	side by side with	<i>la lune lève</i> (arch.).
<i>le malade s'affaiblit</i>	„	<i>le malade affaiblit.</i>
<i>l'heure s'approche</i>	„	<i>l'heure approche.</i>
<i>le pays s'arme</i>	„	<i>le pays arme</i> (arch.).
<i>les revenus s'augmentent</i>	„	<i>les revenus augmentent.</i>
<i>la glace se fond</i>	„	<i>la glace fond.</i>

<sup>1</sup> In Mod. F. the participle is in this case indeclinable : *il s'est donné un coup* ; *ils se sont donné des coups*. (See § 458, p. 779.)

*le cœur se gonfle* side by side with *le cœur gonfle*.  
*se partir d'un lieu* (arch.) „ *partir d'un lieu*.

II. After certain verbs such as *faire*, *laisser*, *croire*, *entendre*, *voir*, &c., we often use an intransitive verb in the infinitive without the addition of the reflexive pronoun: *faire taire quelqu'un* (to make a person hush), and not *faire se taire*. We have here the primitive use of *taire* before the subjective pronoun made its appearance. By assimilation, the reflexive pronominals when following the same verbs have lost the reflexive pronoun:

*Le temps qui s'avance*  
*Me fait précipiter en cette extravagance.* (Corn. iv. 291.)  
 (Advancing time

Hurries me into this outrageous act.)

The former original construction with intransitive verbs is exemplified in:

*Ceux que l'opinion fait plaire aux vanités.* (Malh. i. 296.)  
 (Those whom opinion makes delight in vanities.)

*Je vois évanouir ces infâmes portraits.* (Corn. ii. 303.)  
 (I see these shameful pictures disappear.)

*On en a vu . . . qui ont sapé . . . de grands empires, et qui les ont fait évanouir de dessus la terre* (such have been seen as have undermined great empires and made them vanish from above the earth) (La Bruy. i. 366). *Ce palais . . . ces jardins vous font récrier d'une première vue sur une maison si délicieuse* (this palace, these gardens, at first sight make you exclaim at so delightful an abode) (id. i. 271).

The later construction, dropping the pronoun, by assimilation to the former, is seen in: *Cela m'a fait ébahir* (it took me aback) (Malh. iii. 115);

*C'est peu de laisser assoupir*  
*La fervour du plus saint désir;*  
*Par notre lâcheté nous la laissons éteindre.*

(Corn. viii. 107.)

(Tis little that we let the fervour of the holiest desire drowse; by our sloth we let it die out.)

*Je la laisse expliquer en tout ce qui me touche.* (Rac. ii. 305.)  
 (I let her speak out in all that touches me.)

However, here and there after the verbs in question we do meet with examples where the infinitive is preceded by the pronoun ; but usually the pronoun is put in to avoid ambiguity or to meet the exigencies of versification.

Contemporary French, yielding to an excessive scrupulousness and sense of analysis, strives to emphasize the distinction between the pronominal and the simple intransitive forms. In certain consecrated phrases it allows, as we have seen above, the use of the infinitive without the reflexive pronoun : *faire taire, faire souvenir, laisser aller*, &c., but in general, where no fixed tradition exists, writers prefer sacrificing liveliness of expression to precision of shade : they prefer to say *voir se lever, se coucher, le soleil*, rather than *voir lever, coucher, le soleil*.

III. A final consequence of the assimilation of the two classes of pronominals is the use of the past participle with an active signification. The past participle of intransitive verbs may be used absolutely in the active sense. We have thus, in the 17th and 18th centuries, *le héros est expiré*, and hence *un héros expiré* ; and at the present day *un bail expiré, six mois expirés ; il est évanoui*, and hence *une personne évanouie*. This licence occurs naturally in subjective pronominals which are only intransitives : *elle s'est repentie, les filles repenties*. Analogy has extended it to reflexive pronominals : *une personne appliquée, fâchée* (the participles being equivalent to *qui s'applique, qui se fâche*) ; *une femme décidée, résolue ; une fiancée*, &c.

There is, however, a slight difference of sense between the participles of reflexive pronominals and of subjective pronominals. The former naturally express an habitual state, the latter the result of the action. In the exceptional case of the subjective pronominal *s'empresser*, if we compare the two phrases : *une personne qui s'est empressée* (one who has hurried, or taken pains), and *une personne empressée* (eager, painstaking, &c.), we see that, in order to make the

participle express a persistent state in the latter, the language was obliged to alter the etymological signification which it has in the former.

**429. IMPERSONAL VERBS<sup>1</sup>.—I.** Impersonal verbs state facts without referring them to a determinate subject. Whilst personal verbs present an action in relation to the person or the object which produces it, the impersonal verbs express an action without any relation to this cause : *il pleut, il neige, il grêle.*

French has inherited this construction from the Latin, which used certain verbs in this way to express the phenomena of nature : *pluit (it rains), grandinat (it hails), lucescit (it dawns), &c.* Again in imitation of Latin, French has extended this construction to personal verbs. And the Old language was even richer than the Modern, as well in impersonals proper as in verbs used impersonally. The following have been lost : *il anuïte (it is night), il aserit, avesprît (it is evening), il abelit, siet (it pleases)<sup>2</sup>, il loist (it is lawful), il afiert (it befits), il membre (it comes to mind), il deut (it hurts), il haïte (it gives pleasure), &c.* In the 17th century the following were still used : *il me chaut (it matters to me), il conste (it is established [that]), il m'évient (it turns ill), il m'ennuie, il n'apparaît, il me déplaît, and il me souvient* side by side with *je me souviens*. [*Il ne m'en chaut, il me souvient*, though archaisms, are not infrequently used at present.]

Latin also used the passive impersonally : *dicitur (it is said, on dit)*. In Old French this construction was used even down to the 17th century : *(Il) pense être guéri, pour ce qu'il lui est bien amendé ((he) thinks to be cured because matters are much amended with him)* (Malh. ii. 560).

*Il fut dansé, sauté, ballé.* (La Fontaine, iv. 60.)

<sup>1</sup> These are sometimes called *unipersonal* because verbs of this nature are only used in the 3rd person singular. This name refers only to the outward guise of the word, whilst the term *impersonal* expresses the very essence of this kind of verb, which points out facts without connecting them with any person or real subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Il sied* survives in the sense *it befits*.

We should now say : *on dansa, sauta.*

[For the use of the verb impersonally with the indefinite substantive *on*, to replace the passive of transitive verbs, see § 434.]

Finally, it is not only transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs that are used impersonally; pronominal verbs also assume this form. Compare :

*Plusieurs conséquences s'ensuivent* and *Il s'ensuit plusieurs conséquences* (*several results follow and there follow several results*).

*Un homme s'est montré* and *Il s'est montré un homme* (*a man appeared and there appeared a man*).

*Des gens se trouvent* and *Il se trouve des gens* (*people are found and there are found people*).

II. Of the impersonal verbs, those expressing natural phenomena are complete in themselves and require no determinant to complete the thought : *Il pleut*. The others, being mostly personal verbs used impersonally, generally require some determinant, which is either a substantive as complement or direct object, or an infinitive, or a proposition : *Il faut quelqu'un ici. Il me plaît d'agir ainsi. Il me semble que vous vous trompez*. Even the true impersonal verbs when taken figuratively may be followed by an object : *Il pleut des balles* (*it rains bullets*).

In Latin the object of impersonal verbs was put in the accusative or the ablative : *Pluit sanguinem* or *sanguine*. So, in Old French, it was usually put in the accusative case. Consequently *balles* in *il pleut des balles* must be considered as an accusative. The established form did not admit any other construction for the logical subject *des balles* than that of the direct grammatical object.

When the object designates a person, it is regularly in the dative : *Il me plaît; il lui convient, &c.* We sometimes, however, meet with the accusative in Old French : *Convint l'empereur Henri et sa gent que il laissast la voie*

(the Emperor Henry with his people was obliged to quit the way) (Villeh. 480).

*Qui plus fera de maus, plus le feurs (faudra) boullir.*

(*Bastars de Buillon*, l. 509.)

(Whoso doth more evil deeds, the more must he boil.)

III. Like the object, the subject of the impersonal verb is purely a grammatical one. We have already seen (Book II, § 198) that this impersonal pronoun *il* was introduced into use fairly late, and Old French long used the expressions: *pleut, i (= y) a gens*. At the present day it occurs with all impersonal verbs, save in a few expressions such as: *Que vous en semble?* (what do you think of it?); *Qu'importe?* (what matter?); *Plaise à Dieu . . . !* (please God!); *De cinq ôtes trois, reste deux* (take three from five, two remains). A particular case of this construction is presented by the verb *avoir*. In Popular Latin we already have *habet hominem* (it has a man = there is a man). In Old French the corresponding phrase exists with the logical subject also in the accusative: *a home*. Gradually the habit arose of introducing the adverb *i = y* (there).

*D'Ajrique i ad un African venit.* (Rol. l. 1550.)

(From Africa there has come an African.)

*E tante hanste i ad fraise e sanglante.* (id. l. 1399.)

(And so many a shaft (spear) there was broken and bloody.)

It was in the 12th century that *i a* became *il i a*. Through the Middle Ages the three constructions *a*, *i a*, *il i a*, lived side by side. Since the end of the 16th century the last has triumphed; but the first remained in the adverb *pièce* (= *pièce a* = a little while ago), still in use in the 16th century, and in the living word *naguère* (= *il n'i a guère*), meaning *not long ago, recently*; the second has remained in *tant y a que*.

IV. The impersonal verb changes into a personal one in two ways:

(1) The logical subject becomes the grammatical subject: *Les canons tonnent. Les balles pleuvent de tous côtés.*



(2) The impersonal becomes a factitive personal in an intransitive or transitive sense :

*Pour moi qu'en santé même un autre monde donne  
Qui crois l'âme immortelle, et que c'est Dieu qui tonne.*

(Boileau, *Sat. I. l. 160.*)

(For me, whom even in health another world alarms,  
Who hold the soul immortal, and that thunder comes from God.)

*Notre homme*

*Tranche du roi des airs, pleut, vente et fait en somme  
Un climat pour lui seul.*

(La Font. ii. 13.)

(Our good man

Plays the king of the skies, rains, blows, and makes in fine  
A climate for himself alone.)

*La neige neigeait sa lumière (the snow snowed its light)  
(Chateaubriand, *Mém.* xi).*

V. Certain impersonal verbs require special notice :

*Être* at first was only used impersonally with an adjective or a past participle : *Il est beau ; il est admis*. The number even of predicates that could be so used was limited. It is only from the 12th century that *être* has been used impersonally with a substantive, either to denote existence : *il est un Dieu* ; or to note relations of time : *il est midi ; il est temps ; il est l'heure de partir*, &c.

*Falloir* (O. F. *faillir*) was used down to the 13th century as a personal verb, as the equivalent of *manquer* (*to lack, to be short of*) ; it has still this sense and use in the proverb : *Au bout de l'aune faut le drap (the cloth runs short at the end of the ell)*. It was in use as an impersonal from the 12th century, with this meaning.

*Qu'il n'i failloit ne fers ne dos (clou). (Chev. au lion, l. 753.)*

(That there should lack nor [horse]shoe nor nail)

From the idea of 'lacking' came that of 'being requisite or needed' : *L'argent lui faut, money fails him*, came to mean *money is necessary to him, he needs money*.

As this change progressed, the language lost its impersonal verb *estouvoir, il estuet* (= *to be needed*), and *falloir, il faut*, replaced it. However, it was at first used only with

substantives ; it was only from the 14th century that forms like *il faut que je fasse, il me faut partir*, were allowed.

The primitive sense of 'lacking' still lives in such locutions as : *il s'en faut de beaucoup* followed by *que* with the subjunctive, &c. (*it is far short [of being, &c.]*) ; *il s'en faut peu* (or *de peu*) *que*.

*Faire* was early used impersonally when followed by an adjective :

*Il le seroit bon aller querre.*

(*Chev. au lion*, l. 6605.)

(It would be the right moment to go seek him.)

This use continued in the language :

*Qu'il sera dangereux . . . rencontrer sa colère !* (*Corn.* iv. 336.)

(How dangerous will it be to meet his ire !)

. . . *Il ne fait pas bien sûr, à vous le trancher net,  
Dépouser une fille en dépit qu'elle en ait.* (*Mol.* ix. 186.)

(. . . It's not very safe, to tell you in plain words,  
To wed a maiden in her own despite.)

*Il nous seroit beau voir, attachés, face à face,  
À pousser les beaux sentiments.* (*id.* vi. 393.)

(It would be pretty to see us, face to face,  
Striving to utter fine sentiments.)

We say similarly : *Il fait cher vivre à Paris* (*it is dear to live in Paris*), &c.

**430. PERIPHRASTIC VERBS.**—The periphrastic is that verbal form in which we substitute for a simple verb, throughout its conjugation, a periphrase formed by an auxiliary and a tense of this verb.

There are two kinds of periphrase, according as the verb is in the participle or gerund, or the infinitive.

**431. PERIPHRASE FORMED BY AN AUXILIARY AND A PARTICIPLE OR GERUND.**—The following auxiliaries occur :

(1) *Être*, which was currently used in Old and Middle French :

*Per Dieu vos pri que ne soies* (soyez) *fuiant.* (*Rol.* l. 1473.)

(For God's sake I pray you not to flee.)

*Vos avez tuit juré que . . . se uns en voloit estre encontre, que vos li seriez aidant* (you have all sworn that, if any wished to oppose him, you would help him) (Villeh. 260). *Ils sont assaillans, vous estes deffendeurs* (they attack, you are defenders) (Alain Chartier, *Quadr.* 415)<sup>1</sup>. It fell into less frequent use from the 16th century onward, although H. Estienne finds it graceful; and in the 17th century it is hardly found except in Voiture: *Dans l'innocence où ils estoient, ils furent quelques mois jouissans tranquillement de ce plaisir* (in the innocence in which they existed, they were some months peacefully enjoying this pleasure) (ii. 65). Nowadays this idiom is only admissible, either when the participle has the function of an adjective: *il est vivant*; or to express continuity of action (see *aller*).

(2) *Aller*. The use of *aller* combined as an auxiliary with the gerund (in the sense of 'to go on') persisted down to the 17th century:

*Les plaisirs nous vont décevant.* (Malh. i. 286.)

(Pleasures go on deceiving us.)

*Mais à la fin, ma douleur s'augmentant,  
Je vis le mal qui m'allait tourmentant.* (Voit. i. 513.)

(But at length, my pain increasing,  
I saw the ill that went on tormenting me.)

*Quel malheur me va poursuivant?* (Corn. x. 40.)

(What misfortune goes on pursuing me!)

*Vous voyez . . . comme en tous lieux la mort va prenant ceux qu'il plaît à Dieu* (you see how in all places Death goes on taking those whom it pleases God) (Sév. viii. 225). Vaugelas (i. 313) admitted this idiom, but only where there is a visible motion to which *aller* might be applied: *La rivière va serpentant* (the river goes winding). This theory has prevailed in the modern language.

<sup>1</sup> [This construction, possibly of Celtic origin (distinct from the English progressive present), occurs in Irish and Scotch dialect: *They are all, dear baby, belonging to thee* (Walter Scott).]

(3) **Venir**. Like *aller*, *venir* was used to form periphrastic verbs, especially with the gerund of verbs of motion :

*E Bramimonde vient corant contre lui. (Rol. l. 2822.)*

(And Bramimonde comes running up towards him.)

*S'en vindrent mout honteusement fuiant parmi le pontel*  
(they came away very shamefully flying across the bridge)  
(Joinv. 246). This construction is still found in the somewhat antiquated expressions : *Il vient, il s'en vient, il s'en retourne chantant, &c.*

(4) **Rendre** followed by a past participle was often substituted for a simple verb in Middle French, and even as late as the 17th century :

*Elle rend pour jamais vos desseins avortés. (Rac. i. 411.)*

(It makes your designs abortive for ever.)

*C'est que l'amie est d'un orgueil qui la rend révoltée contre les ordres de l'autre* (it is that the friend is of a pride that makes her rebellious against the orders of the other) (Sév. iv. 23). *Rendre* is now almost always followed by adjectives only, to form in this way the equivalent of a simple verb : *rendre heureux, content, net, &c.*

(5) We must also note other periphrases, now obsolete, formed by synonyms of *être* with a past participle : *La chose devient faite* (gets done), *vaut faite* (is as good as done), *s'en va faite, &c.*

*Mais aujourd'hui que mes années*

*Vers leur fin s'en vont terminées. (Malh. i. 210.)*

(But to-day, when my years

Are closing to their end.)

*La conjuration s'en alloit dissipée,*

*Vos desseins avortés, votre haine trompée. (Corn. iii. 426.)*

(The conspiracy was all but broken up,

Your plots miscarried, your hatred foiled.)

**432. PERIPHRASE FORMED BY AN AUXILIARY AND AN INFINITIVE.** — Periphrases in which the verb is in the infinitive are different in character from the preceding ones ; they are seldom equivalent to a simple verb, because

here the auxiliary expresses a definite idea of modality. The principal auxiliaries so used are : *aller, venir, faire, devoir*.

(1) *Aller*. This verb followed by an infinitive expresses in the literal sense the physical motion to perform elsewhere an action in the immediate future : *allez lui porter ce message* (*go bear him this message*). It is only figuratively that it expresses the proximate accomplishment of an action, without any idea of motion (= to be going to, to be about to) :

*Nous n'allons point de fleurs parfumer son chemin.*

(Rac. i. 549.)

(We are not going to scent his path with flowers.)

So *s'en aller* : *Un de ses fils s'en va mourir encore* (*still another of his sons is about to die*) (Sév. iii. 462).

... *Ce triomphe heureux qui s'en va devenir*

*L'éternel entretien des siècles à venir.* (Rac. iii. 171.)

(This happy triumph which is about to become

The eternal theme of centuries following.)

However, in the 17th century *aller* with an infinitive sometimes fulfils the function of a simple verb : *On me croyait trop raisonnable . . . pour m'aller souvenir* (*they thought me too sensible 'to go and remember'*) (La Rochef. ii. 448). So even in the present language this periphrase with a negation merely indicates abstention : *N'allez pas l'irriter par votre obstination* (*don't go and irritate him by your obstinacy*).

(2) *Venir*. This verb followed by a simple infinitive denotes the goal of an action : *Je suis venu vous voir* (*I am come to see you*). It denotes, when followed by a prepositional infinitive (1) with *pour*, the goal of the action : *je suis venu pour vous voir* ; but (2) with *de*, a very recent past : *il vient de sortir* (*he has just gone out*). *S'en venir de sortir, &c.*, is used in the same sense (= *to have just gone out, &c.*).

<sup>1</sup> [We give the English equivalent quoted, despite its purely colloquial use, for its striking parallelism in sense, though not in style, to the French.]

- (3) *Faire* combined with an infinitive very frequently fulfilled the function of a simple verb in Old French: *il fait tendre son arc* was the equivalent of *il tend son arc* (cf. the English, *I do stretch my bow*). So :

*Merci, père, dit-il, or me faites entendre.* (*Ren. de Mont.* l. 355.)  
(‘Have mercy, father,’ said he, ‘now do hark to me.’)

*Et me proient (prirent) que je lor face moustrer (fasse montrer) le roi* (and pray me that I do show them the king) (*Joinv.* 566). In these two examples *me faites entendre* and *face moustrer* express no more than *entendez-moi* and *montre*.

This construction disappeared from Middle French; henceforward the language used *faire* with an infinitive only to form factitive verbs, as : *faire acheter, faire croire, faire venir*, &c.

(4) *Devoir* followed by an infinitive denotes more or less clearly an obligatory future with various shades of meaning :—(a) absolute necessity : *Les hommes doivent mourir* (*men must die*) ; (b) moral obligation : *Les enfants doivent respecter leurs parents* (*children should respect their parents*) ; (c) an attenuated order : *On devrait planter des arbres le long de la route* (*trees ought to be planted along the road*) ; (d) intention : *Je dois aller demain à la campagne* (*I am to go to the country to-morrow*) ; (e) indeterminate future : *Il doit partir demain* (*he is leaving to-morrow*) ; (f) supposition : *C’est lui qui doit avoir fait cela* (*it is he who must (or is supposed to ; cf. German soll) have done that*) ; (g) simple belief : *Il doit être incapable d’une mauvaise action* (*he must be incapable of a bad deed*) ; (h) likelihood : *Ces choses-là ne doivent pas être rares* (*those things cannot be rare*).

(5) Finally we may note certain other periphrases ; such as those (a) with *vouloir*, denoting will or wish for a future action, in : *Je veux partir* (*I want to go, I mean to go*) ; (b) with *pouvoir*, denoting a mild affirmation, in : *Il peut*

*être midi* (*it may be twelve o'clock*); (c) that with *être pour*, denoting in Middle French, and still in the 17th century, a possible or probable future (cf. note, p. 748):

*Monsieur, je ne suis pas pour vous dévouer.* (Rac. II. 178.)  
(Sir, I am not prepared to contradict you.)

## II. Passive Voice.

438. THE PASSIVE VOICE.—I. The passive voice expresses the action as suffered by the subject and caused by the object. We have seen (Book II, § 213 b) how the double system of the passive conjugation in Latin, being too complicated for the Romance nations, became reduced, and was replaced by a periphrastic conjugation formed of the past participle and the auxiliary *être*. We shall see further on what consequences followed from this substitution.

II. The passive infinitive is sometimes rendered by the active, and the object from which the action emanates may be followed by the preposition *de*, as with a true passive. This takes place:

(1) With a simple infinitive, after the verbs *faire*, *laisser*, *entendre*, *voir*, &c. *Je le ferai voir de tous* (*I will make it be seen by all*); *je l'ai laissé prendre* (*I let it be taken*). In the syntax of the infinitive (§ 449, ii. p. 740) we shall see the delicate process by which the language succeeds in distinguishing the active and passive senses with this infinitive: *Je l'ai vu prendre* (= *I saw it taken*) and *Je lui ai vu prendre ce livre* (*I saw him take this book*).

(2) With a prepositional infinitive generally expressing the aim or end: *Je suis à plaindre* (*I am to be pitied*). *Il est à désirer que . . .* (*it is to be desired that . . .*). *Il est fait à peindre* (*he is made [i.e. fit] to be painted*).

(3) After adjectives: *facile à faire*, *agréable à lire*, *vin prêt à boire* (*easy to do*, *pleasant to read*, *wine ready to drink*<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> [The English idiom here is exactly parallel to the French.]

- In Middle French we also find : *un spectacle digne de voir* (a scene worthy to be seen). Now we say : *un spectacle digne d'être vu*.

**434. PASSIVE OF TRANSITIVE VERBS.** — It is in the transitive form that the passive voice, like the active, develops itself most completely. In this case the subject undergoes the action of the object which causes it: *Paul est frappé par Pierre*. The passive of forms other than the transitive occurs only in special uses.

Transitives in the passive voice are divided into two classes according as they express (1) a momentary action, e. g. *battre, frapper, manger, tuer, &c.*, or (2) a more or less continuous action, e. g. *aimer, haïr, louer, &c.* We have seen how the Latin passive was transformed in Romanic, and came to be conjugated periphrastically in all its moods and tenses with the auxiliary *être* and a past participle expressing an accomplished fact. The transformation has entailed this curious consequence, that when the agent is not expressed it is not possible in either the present, imperfect, or future tense of the passive to express the action as going on, but only as completed. Latin says in the active voice: *Petrus caedit Paulum* (*Peter strikes Paul*), and in the passive: *Paulus caeditur a Petro* (*Paul is being struck by Peter*). This expression is untranslatable into French when the agent is not expressed; we are forced to have recourse to the active transitive locution [used impersonally], and say *on frappe Pierre*, instead of *Pierre est frappé*; with verbs which express a more or less continuous or persistent action there is not the same defect: *il est aimé, il est estimé*, are both the precise equivalents of *on l'aime, on l'estime*, and of the Latin passives *amatur, aestimatur*. Here the beginning of the action already past and its continuation are merged.

It follows that certain verbs of the first class may pass into the second when the action is considered as habitual:



*La Revue des Deux-Mondes est lue par toute l'Europe* (the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* is read by all Europe). In this case *est lue* answers exactly to *on la lit*, because it denotes an habitual action. In the phrase: *Il veut surprendre l'ennemi, mais il est vaincu,—est vaincu*, in its literal sense, expresses the action as quite completed; but in this line of Corneille:

*Qui veut mourir ou vaincre est vaincu rarement.*

(Whoso wishes to conquer or die is rarely conquered.)

*est vaincu* is the precise equivalent term of *on le vainc*, because it has here the sense of habitual conquering.

Another important consequence drawn from the preceding analysis is that the past participles of verbs of the first class may lose all idea of the action itself, and only express the result of the action, so as to become simple adjectives; whilst the past participles of verbs of the second class, expressing continuous action, always carry this notion of continuity of action and cannot become mere adjectives. In the following line:

*Du temple orné partout de festons magnifiques.* (Rac. iii. 605.)

(Of the temple throughout adorned with splendid wreaths.)

*orné* signifies 'which has been at some time adorned': it is an adjective; so with *composé* in: *L'homme est composé d'un corps et d'une âme* (man is composed of a body and a soul). On the contrary, *aimée*, *estimée*, which always express continuous action, cannot be adjectives in: *Cette personne est aimée, estimée de tous* (this person is loved, esteemed by all).

435. PASSIVE OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS.—The passive is only found with a certain number of intransitive verbs which are well on their way to become transitive: *obéir à quelqu'un*: *vous serez obéi*; *vivre*: *cette œuvre a été vécue*; *boire à la santé*: *votre santé fut buë* (Sév. iii. 402); *répondre à une lettre*: *lettre répondue* (an official term).

**436. PASSIVE USE OF REFLEXIVE VERBS.**—The reflexive is used to replace the passive with verbs which cannot take the present tense of that voice. *Ces marchandises ne se vendent pas* is the equivalent not of *ces marchandises ne sont point vendues* (these goods are not sold), but of *on ne vend point ces marchandises* (they do not sell these goods); this expression dates only from Middle French and its use is at the present day more restricted than at its origin; between the 14th century and the 18th, on the contrary, the reflexive might be followed by a complement expressing the cause of the action: *Par laquelle œuvre se pourra connoître la grandeur du prince* (by which work may be known the greatness of the prince) (Comm. 3).

*Avant que son destin s'explique par ma voix.* (Rac. iii. 616.)  
(Before his destiny is expounded by my voice.)

*Tout se fit par les prêtres* (everything was done by the priests) (id. v. 207). *Ses desseins s'affermiroient par l'éloignement de la cour* (his designs would be strengthened by the removal of the court to a distance) (La Rochef. ii. 309).

[The reflexive can now only be used in the passive absolutely, or with a complement of manner, time, or place: *ces pommes se vendent bien, cher, à midi, ici; cela se fera par mon entreprise.*]

**437. PASSIVE OF IMPERSONAL VERBS.**—The passive impersonal is especially used either with transitive or with intransitive verbs (of the intermediate kind, § 435), in constructions which in the active voice would take the nominative on: *Il a été mal parlé de vous. Il a été rapporté certaines choses sur son compte* (You have been ill spoken of.—There have been reported certain things about him). This construction, which was in general use in the 16th and 17th centuries (§ 429), is becoming antiquated.

We have seen (§ 436) that the personal reflexive is used as a passive; the impersonal reflexive is similarly used as a passive: *Il se trouve qu'il a raison* (it is found [i. e. turns

out] that he is right). *Il se raconte des choses étranges sur son compte (there are told strange things about him).*

**438. PASSIVE OF PERIPHRASTIC VERBS.**—The passive appears in these verbs when the participle joined to the auxiliary is the past and not the present. Instances of this are rare in the present language; they were more frequent in Old French, for example with the verb *aller*: *La chose s'en va faite (the thing's about to be finished).*

*Mais aujourd'hui que mes années,  
Vers leur fin s'en vont terminées. (Malh. i. 210.)*

(But now that my years, approaching their end, are about to close.)

Or with the verb *tourner*: *la chose tourne finie (the thing is about to end).* The popular language still has recourse to this old construction: *la messe s'en va dite (mass is about to be over).*

## SECTION II.—*The Moods.*

### 439. Moods.

- I. INDICATIVE.—440. Indicative mood.
- II. IMPERATIVE.—441. Imperative mood.
- III. SUBJUNCTIVE.—442. Subjunctive mood.—443. Subjunctive in simple propositions.—444. Subjunctive in subordinate propositions.—445. Subjunctive in substantive propositions.—446. Subjunctive in adjective propositions.—447. Subjunctive in adverbial propositions.
- IV. INFINITIVE.—448. Infinitive mood.—449. Simple infinitive.—450. Prepositional infinitive.

**439. MOODS.**—Moods are the various aspects in which verbal action is presented. There were three moods in Latin: the indicative, the imperative, and the subjunctive; to these the infinitive may be added, which is less a mood than a verbal noun, since in its various tenses the action is presented impersonally and indeterminately; it is only, then, speaking in a general sense that we can give it the name of *mood*. The above moods exist also in French.

Grammarians have added a fifth to these moods, the conditional, an aspect of the verbal action which Latin

rendered either by past tenses of the indicative or by the subjunctive. We shall see that the conditional is but half a mood, and springs from the indicative.

### I. Indicative.

**440. INDICATIVE MOOD.**—The *indicative* is the mood of reality and expresses a real fact, or an affirmative or negative judgement, in a declaratory or interrogative aspect, at a period of time which may be present, past, or future, in a proposition either simple or subordinate. We shall see (§ 442 *et seq.*) in what cases it is replaced by the subjunctive.

### II. Imperative.

**441. IMPERATIVE MOOD.**—The *Imperative* is the mood of necessity and points out an action ordered or desired; the tone of voice determines in which of these two senses this mood should be taken: *Faites ceci, je l'exige. Faites ceci, je vous en prie.*

The imperative, having no proper 3 sing. or 3 plur., borrows these from the subjunctive: *qu'il vienne, qu'ils partent.* The 1 and 2 plur. are borrowed from the indicative, except in four verbs which borrow these persons from the subjunctive. These verbs are *être, avoir, savoir, vouloir.* *Veuillons* and *sachons, veuillez* and *sachez*, are old forms of the subjunctive.

The infinitive is sometimes substituted for the imperative (in general directions, receipts, notices): *Prendre tant de grammes de cette potion. Ne point faire telle chose* (Take so many grammes of this potion. Do not do such or such a thing). Old French also used the infinitive in the sense of the imperative, but only in the negative, and addressed to a single person only:

*Sire compains, amis, nel dire ja. (Rol. l. 1113.)*  
(Sir comrade, friend, say it no more.)

*Ne quider (croyer) pas, bel sire, que tus vos fis soient ocis* (do not think, my lord, that all thy sons are slain) (*Quatr. Liv. Rois*, 166). In Modern French, on the contrary, the infinitive replaces the positive as well as the negative imperative; the order may be addressed to several persons; and it is indefinite in character: *prendre tant de grammes* is equivalent to *qu'on prenne*, &c. Consequently there is no relation between the old construction and the new.

Nor can we approximate this modern usage with the locution that was so frequent in Old French, where the infinitive, preceded by *or* and the preposition *de*, served as an imperative: *or du bien faire*, *or de l'aler*, *or du ferir*, the infinitive being used substantively with an ellipsis of the imperative *penses* (bethink yourself): *or (penses) de l'aler*, *du ferir* (= *go! strike!*).

Lastly, the future is substituted for the imperative to show absolute command: *Vendredi chair ne mangeras* (thou shalt not eat flesh on Friday). This use was known to Old French.

### III. Subjunctive.

**442. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.**—The *subjunctive* is the mood of possibility. As its name shows, it essentially belongs to the compound sentence and therein is the mood of the dependent or subordinate proposition (*sub-junctus*, placed under). It often occurs, however, in simple propositions.

**443. SUBJUNCTIVE IN SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS.**—I. The subjunctive is used in the 3rd person present with the function of an imperative: *qu'il parte*, *qu'il vienne*. In this

<sup>1</sup> [It is probable that in the special modern use so frequent in public notices (e. g. *traverser le pont au pas*; *ne pas jeter des ordures sur la voie*) a word expressing command or desire, like *prière de*, *ordre de*, is understood; it is expressed in the negative: *défense d'afficher* = *stick no bills*.]

case, in the Old language it was not usually preceded by the conjunction *que*; and the usage still existed in the 16th century: *Sire, souviens vous des Athéniens* (*Sire, remember the Athenians*) (Mont. i. 9). *Ny le plus jeune refuse à philosopher, ny le plus vieil s'y lasse* (*neither let the youngest skun philosophising, nor the oldest weary himself therein*) (id. i. 25). The absence of the conjunction is still noted in some archaic locutions: *saue qui peut, qui m'aime me suive*, &c.

II. The present subjunctive is still used in the 3rd person to denote a concession. *Aille qui voudra* (*go who will*). *Ecrive qui voudra* (*write who will*). *Adviensse que pourra* (*come what may*). *Vous le voulez? soit!* (*you wish it? so be it [very well]*). *Si sage soit-il* (*however wise he be*). In this case the language nearly always adheres to the ellipsis of the conjunction *que*.

III. In the 1st person the subjunctive serves to denote a softened affirmation in some consecrated expressions: *Je ne sache rien de si beau* (*I know nothing so beautiful*). *Il n'est pas venu, que je sache* (*as far as I know*).

IV. The subjunctive is also used with an optative function to denote a desire, or wish, in the present, imperfect, and pluperfect.

In the present tense the Old language used the subjunctive in all the persons, and usually without the conjunction *que*; in the case of the 3rd person, used without *que*, the subject followed the verb. This construction survived in the 17th and the 18th centuries

*Je meure, en vos discours si je puis rien comprendre.*

(Corn. iv. 167.)

(May I die if I can understand anything in what you say.)

*Car vaille ou non son maître, il faut qu'il le lui vende.*

(La Font. v. 259.)

(For whether his master will or no, he must sell it to him.)

*Tombent sur moi du Ciel les plus grands châtimens.*

(Mol. ii. 311.)

(May the heaviest punishments fall on me from Heaven.)

*Si pendant un quart d'heure*

*Vous suives ce dessein, c'est beaucoup, ou je meure.*

(Destouches, *Irrésolu*, Act IV, Sc. 1.)

(If you follow up this intention for a quarter of an hour, may I die if it is not a long time.)

*Nous préservent les cieux d'un si funeste abus!*

(Volt. *Brutus*, Act II, Sc. 4.)

(The heavens preserve us from so fatal a wrong!)

In the present language the subjunctive is scarcely used as an optative in the 1st and 2nd persons except with the verb *pouvoir*: *puissé-je, puisses-tu, puissions-nous réussir*. In the 3rd person the locution is still common, but the conjunction *que* must always be used: *Que cela vous serve de leçon!* (may that serve you as a lesson!). The exceptions to this rule are archaic expressions. *Dieu vous garde! Dieu me soit en aide! Fasse le ciel! Vive la France! &c.* (See § 492 a, V, p. 841.)

In the imperfect and pluperfect the subjunctive with the subject following may also have the function of an optative, especially in exclamatory sentences: *Plût à Dieu qu'il en fût ainsi!* (would to God that it were so!) *Fussions-nous hors de danger!* (would that we were out of danger!)

*La peste de ta chute, empoisonneur du diable!*

*En eusses-tu fait une à te casser le nez!* (Mol. v. 464.)

(Plague on thy fall, thou devilish poisoner,

Would thou hadst had one that would break thy nose!)

#### 444. SUBJUNCTIVE IN SUBORDINATE PROPOSITIONS. —

Subordinate propositions are divided into substantive, adjective, and adverbial, according as they fulfil the function of a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb.

In *je souhaite qu'il guérisse* (*I wish that he may recover*), *qu'il guérisse* is equivalent to a substantive (*sa guérison, his recovery*); it is a substantive proposition.

In *un bienfait qu'on reproche est sans valeur, qu'on*

*reproche* is equivalent to an adjective (= un bienfait *reproche* est . . .); it is an adjective proposition.

In *je partirai quand vous voudrez* (= je partirai *au moment fixé par vous*), *quand vous voudrez* is equivalent to a complement of circumstance; it is an adverbial proposition.

We shall now study the rôle of the subjunctive in these three kinds of proposition.

**445. SUBJUNCTIVE IN SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSITIONS.**—The verb in a dependent substantive proposition is sometimes put in the indicative, sometimes in the subjunctive.

I. With verbs of belief or declaration, such as *dire, affirmer, juger, confesser, protester, soutenir, convenir, se souvenir, penser, croire, se douter, s'apercevoir, prévoir, espérer, admettre, promettre, jurer, &c.*, and periphrases such as *être certain, être sur, il est certain, il est vrai, &c.*, the verb in the dependent proposition is usually put in the indicative<sup>1</sup>, because it denotes a real fact or one taken as such: *Je crois qu'il dit vrai* (*I think that he tells the truth*). *Il affirme qu'il est venu* (*he affirms that he came*). *Vous pensez qu'il a menti* (*you think that he lied*).

But if the verb of belief express a doubt or uncertainty the verb of the dependent proposition is put in the subjunctive: *Supposons que cela soit* (*suppose that it be so*). *J'admets qu'il vienne* (*I allow that he may come*). *Je veux bien qu'il ait tort* (*I admit that he may be wrong*).

It is for this reason that down to the 18th century a certain number of declaratory verbs now regularly construed with the indicative were often construed with the

<sup>1</sup> When the principal verb refers to a future action, the subordinate verb is put in the future if the principal is in the present, in the conditional if the principal is in the imperfect: *Je crois qu'il viendra. Je croyais qu'il viendrait*. Here the conditional belongs to the indicative mood, it is a future in the past (see p. 757).



subjunctive ; these were especially the verbs *croire* (O. F. *cuidier*), *dire*, *estimer*, *penser*, *soupçonner*, *tenir*, &c.

*Lors cuidai je que il n'eüst  
Raison ne parler ne seüst.* (Chev. au lion, l. 325.)

(Then I thought that he had lost his reason and knew not how to speak.)

*Cil de Moab penserent que l'ewe (l'eau) fust ensanglantee* (the Moabites thought that the water was stained with blood) (Quat. Liv. Rois, 354). *J'ay leu qu'un philosophe nommé Petron estoit en celle opinion que feussent plusieurs mondes soy touchans les uns les aultres* (I have read that a philosopher named Petronius was of opinion that there were several worlds touching one another) (Rab. ii. 464). *Philostrate tient que soient dents, non cornes* (Philostratus holds that they be teeth, not horns) (id. iii. 119).

*La plus belle des deux je crois que ce soit l'autre*  
(Corn. iv. 151.)

(The fairer of the two, I think to be the other.)

*Vous croyes qu'un amant vienne vous consulter?* (Rac. ii. 60.)  
(Do you think that a lover comes to consult you?)

*Vous pensez qu'approuvant vos desseins odieux,  
Je vous laisse immoler votre fille à mes yeux?  
Que ma foi, mon amour, mon honneur y consente?*  
(id. iii. 218.)

(You think that, approving your odious designs,  
I would let you sacrifice your daughter before my eyes,  
That my faith, my love, my honour would consent?)

*Cette lettre, Monsieur, qu'avecque cette boîte  
On prétend qu'ait reçue Isabelle de vous.* (Mol. ii. 395.)

(This letter, Sir, which they say Isabel received from you with this box.)

*Un Bas-Breton me dit qu'il pensoit que les états allaient mourir* (a Bas-Breton told me that he thought the Estates were about to die) (Sév. ii. 356). *Vous diriez qu'il ait l'oreille du prince* (you would say that he had the ear of the prince) (La Bruy. i. 370). We may say generally that, in the case of a certain number of verbs, in the Old as well as

in the present language, the mood used really depends on the shade of thought implied.

When the principal proposition is negative and the negation is denoted by the adverb *ne*, in Old and Modern French alike, the subjunctive is used, unless there is no doubt about the reality of the action: *Je ne crois pas qu'il vienne* (*I don't think he is coming*), but *Il ne sait pas que je suis son ami* (*he does not know that I am his friend*).

Should the principal verb be negative by nature, e. g. *douter*, *nier*, *disconvenir*, *désespérer*, *dissimuler*, &c., it governs the subjunctive: *je conteste, je doute qu'il en soit ainsi*. *Ignorer* alone governs sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive, according to the sense: *Il ignore que la terre tourne* (indic.) (*he does not know that the world goes round*), but *J'ignorais qu'il fût arrivé* (*I did not know that he had arrived*). *Ne pas ignorer* (= *savoir*) and *ne pas nier* (= *admettre*), which in the 17th century were still construed with a second *ne* and the subjunctive, are now construed without this second *ne* and with the indicative. On the other hand, *il se peut faire que* could be construed in the 17th century with the indicative: *Il se peut faire que leur ressentiment part de quelque zèle, mais peu éclairé* (*it may happen that their resentment comes from some kind of zeal; but [that] little enlightened*) (Pasc. Prov. 186). *Il se peut faire que celui qui m'a conté cette aventure . . . n'a pas retenu exactement* (*it may be that he who told me this adventure . . . did not exactly remember*) (Rac. iv. 336). Consequently even with verbs denoting uncertainty the language of the French Classics may use the indicative. The thought presented as doubtful in the first member of a period suddenly assumes a character of reality, and the subordinate becomes a sort of principal proposition.

If the principal proposition be interrogative the subordinate must be put in the indicative or in the subjunctive, according as the person putting the question is certain or uncertain of the answer: *Sais-tu bien que l'affaire réussit?*

(do you know that the business is succeeding?), but *Croyez-vous que l'affaire aille bien?* (do you think that the business will do well?).

Finally, also, if the principal sentence isconditional, the proper use of the indicative and the subjunctive respectively depends entirely upon the sense: *Si vous croyez que je puisse vous être utile*, or *que je puis vous être utile* (if you think I may be useful, or can be useful to you).

To sum up, all these particular cases, both in Old and in Modern French, are included in this one general rule: declaratory verbs govern the indicative unless the form of the principal proposition implies a doubt<sup>1</sup> or uncertainty.

II. With verbs of will, such as *vouloir*, *aimer*, *préférer*, *désirer*, *prier*, *exiger*, *consentir*, *permettre*, *défendre*, &c., since the realization of the desire expressed is more or less uncertain, the use of the subjunctive has been general throughout the history of the language<sup>2</sup>:

*Por Dieu vos pri que ne seles fuant.* (Rol. l. 1473.)  
(For God's sake I pray you that you do not flee.)

*Mais Dieus ne vuelt qu'il soit mors ne vencus.* (id. l. 3609.)  
(But God wills not that he be dead or vanquished.)

To these verbs may be added certain declaratory verbs,

<sup>1</sup> In Old French it sometimes happens that the oblique narration introduced by *que* after a declaratory verb is abruptly replaced by the direct narration: *Et après dist Agolans que: Se ma gent est vaincue, je prendré baptisme* (And after said Agolans that: If my people are conquered I will take baptism) (Turpin, i. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the subjunctive, however, we not infrequently find in Old French, either (1) the imperative: *Vous prie et admoneste que, soit en compaignie soit à table, gardez-vous de trop habondamment parler* (I pray and warn you, whether in company or at table, keep yourself from speaking too abundantly) (*Ménagier de Paris*, i. 178); or (2) a negative infinitive:

*Ne te sai plus que enseigner,  
Mès dolcement te voil prier  
Que de tot ço riens n'oblier.* (Trois, l. 1743.)  
(I know not what more to teach you,  
But wish gently to pray you  
That of all this you nought forget.)

such as *dire, écrire, prétendre, avertir, mander, crier, &c.*, which by ellipsis may take a sense of desire, and are followed by the subjunctive: *Diles-lui qu'il fasse ce qu'on a commandé* (tell him to do [that he do] what has been ordered). Consequently the same verb may be followed by two propositions, one in the indicative mood and the other in the subjunctive mood, in accordance with the sense: *Et le dit duc de Touraine lui répondit qu'il feust le tres bien venu, et qu'il estoit venu du Royaume d'Escosse pour le trouver en France* (and the said Duke of Touraine answered him that he was very welcome, and that he was come from the kingdom of Scotland to find him in France (A. Chartier, *Hist. de Charles VII*, 59). *Ils crioient qu'on les menât au combat; qu'ils vouloient venger la mort de leur père . . . ; qu'avec lui ils ne craignoient rien, mais qu'ils vengeroient bien sa mort; qu'on les laissât faire, qu'ils étoient furieux et qu'on les menât au combat* (they clamoured to be led to the combat; that they wished to avenge their father's death . . . ; that with him they feared nothing, but that they would well avenge his death; to be let go, that they were raging, and to be led to the combat (Sév. iv. 3).

The subjunctive mood seems then absolutely necessary with these verbs of desire; and in fact we find few examples of the indicative, such as: *Si veult nature, droit et raison qu'elle l'en doit trop mieulx aymer* (thus nature, right, and reason, will that she should love him much the more for it) (Saintré, 29). *Je désire que vous continuiez en moy la faveur de vostre amitié* (I wish that you may continue in me the favour of your friendship) (Mont. ii. 37).

*Le ciel permit qu'un saule se trouva.* (La Font. i. 115.)  
(Heaven allowed a willow to be there.)

*J'attends du moins, j'attends de votre complaisance  
Que désormais partout vous faires ma présence.*

(Rac. iii. 53.)

(I expect at least, I expect from your kindness  
That henceforward you will abun my presence everywhere.)

The reason for the presence of the indicative after these verbs of will is analogous to that given under I., above (p. 716), in the case of declaratory expressions which express uncertainty.

Only verbs of decision or resolution, such as *arrêter*, *décider*, *décréter*, *résoudre*, which to some extent belong to the class of declaratory verbs, govern the indicative, although they express will: *Je décide qu'il partira* (*I decide that he shall start*). *La majorité décréta que Louis XVI serait jugé par la convention* (*the majority decreed that Louis XVI should be judged by the Convention*).

III. Verbs of emotion, that is, verbs expressing a movement of the soul (either wonder or surprise, such as: *s'étonner*, *être surpris*; joy or pleasure: *se féliciter*, *se réjouir*, *être content*; grief or pain: *s'affliger*, *se plaindre*, *regretter*, *se repentir*, *prendre garde*, *avoir peur*, *être désolé*, &c.), take the subjunctive at the present day, even when there is certainty: *Je regrette que cela soit arrivé. Il se plaint qu'on n'ait rien fait.* The indicative only appears when the conjunction *que* is replaced by *de ce que*: *Il se plaint de ce que vous le négligez* (*he complains that you neglect him*).

There was greater latitude in the Old language; in the 16th and 17th centuries we find many examples of the indicative: *L'abbé fut bien aise qu'ils faisoient ceste despence* (*the Abbot was pleased that they made this expenditure*) (*Heptam.* i. 243). *Je m'esbahy qu'il ne s'en est advisé* (*I wonder that he did not think of it*) (*Bon. des Périers, Réc.* *Nouv.* ii. 48). *Je rougis de honte qu'en l'âge où nous sommes, nous nous jouons d'une chose de telle importance* (*I blush with shame to think that in the time in which we live we trifle with a thing of such importance*) (*Malh.* ii. 435).

*C'est moi qui suis marri que pour cet hyménée  
Je ne puis révoquer la parole donnée.* (Corn. ii. 204.)

(It is I who am grieved that for this wedding  
I cannot revoke the pledge given.)

*C'est dommage, Garo, que tu n'es point entré  
Au conseil de celui que prêche ton curé.* (La Font. ii. 376.)

(Tis pity, Garo, that thou hast not entered  
Into the counsels of Him whom thy curé preaches.)

*Ne vous suffit-il pas que je l'ai condamné?* (Rac. ii. 100.)  
(Does it not satisfy you that I have condemned him?)

*Je fus tout étonnée que Gourville l'envoya quérir* (*I was quite astonished that Gourville sent to fetch him*) (Sév. ii. 172).

*Ce n'est une honte sensible qu'à mes yeux . . . il a recherché  
une autre que moi* (*I am mortified that before my face . . .  
he courted another than me*) (Mol. iv. 212).

Verbs expressing fear were also not infrequently construed with the future and conditional :

*Et crint (craint) qu'asses tost l'occiroit.* (Erc. l. 229.)  
(And fears lest they should slay him very soon.)

*Car il ne fault doubter  
Qu'on ne pourroit homme dompter.*  
(Chr. de Pisan, *Chem. de long estude*, l. 3174.)

(For you must not doubt that  
One cannot overcome a man.)

*J'ay grand peur que toute ceste entreprinse sera semblable à  
la farce du pot au lait* (*I much fear that all this enterprise will  
be like the farce of the pitcher of milk*) (Rab. i. 128). This  
use of the future and conditional had not yet disappeared  
in the first half of the 17th century.

**Remarks.**—We have still several remarks to make in  
order to complete our study of substantive propositions.

1. Impersonal verbs and locutions denoting certainty  
and probability govern sometimes the indicative, sometimes  
the subjunctive, according to the syntax of verbs of belief  
(p. 714): *il paraît, il arrive, il résulte, il est vrai, il est  
évident qu'il a raison. Il n'est pas sûr, il n'est pas vrai qu'il  
ait raison.* With *il semble*, we say according to the sense:  
*Il me semble qu'il a raison* (*it seems to me that he is right*),  
or *il me semble qu'il ait raison* (*he seems to me to be*

right)<sup>1</sup>. But impersonal verbs expressing possibility always govern the subjunctive: *il est possible, douteux qu'il vienne*. The same rule holds with those expressing a necessity: *Il est nécessaire, il tient à moi qu'il vienne*.

However, the syntax of the mood with these expressions scarcely became fixed until the 18th century. Writers in the preceding ages show much uncertainty in this respect: *Et appert qu'elle ne soit pas trouvée par erreur d'ommes* (and it is evident that it was not found by men's error) (A. Chart., *l'Espérance*, 357). *Car se bien faire est bien, il s'ensuit que mal faire soit mal* (for if to do good is right it follows that to do evil is wrong) (Chr. de Pisan, *Trésor de la cité des dames*, folio 95). *Il se peut faire qu'il est déjà venu* (maybe he has already come) (Malh. iv. 68). *Ce n'est pas qu'il m'a paru le plus convenable* (it is not that it [the title] seemed to me the most suitable) (Rac. vi. 455). *Ce n'est pas qu'il faut quelquefois pardonner* (it is not that we must not sometimes pardon) (La Bruy. i. 160). And with the future: *Est-il possible que toujours j'aurai du dessous avec elle, que les apparences toujours tourneront contre moi, et que je ne parviendrai point à convaincre mon effrontée!* (is it possible that I shall always get the worst of it with her, that appearances will always turn against me, and that I shall not succeed in convicting her the brazen thing she is?) (Mol. vi. 565).

2. Verbs expressing an indirect question always govern the indicative: *Dites-moi quelle heure il est. Dites-moi s'il a raison*. Such has been the usage from the earliest times of the language:

*N'il ne lor dist, n'il ne li demanderent  
 Quels om esteit ne de quel terre il eret. (Alexis, 48.)*  
 (He neither told them, nor did they ask him,  
 What man he was, nor of what land he was.)

However, we here and there find examples of the use of

<sup>1</sup> [The more literal translation: *it seems to me that he may be right*, expresses considerably more doubt than the French.]

the subjunctive, as in Latin, down to the 16th century, and in most of these this subjunctive is the equivalent of the conditional: *Je ne voi comment elle puisse estre ferme* (and I see not how it could be fulfilled) (Villeh. 189). *Platon ne sçait en quel ranc il les doibve colloquer* (Plato knows not in which rank he should order them) (Rab. ii. 157). *Et ne savoient comment ils s'en dussent chevir* (and they knew not how they ought to manage with him) (Le Maire de Belges, 55). As late as Molière we have: *Il y a une chose qui m'étonne dans l'astrologie: comment des gens qui savent tous les secrets des dieux . . . aient besoin de faire leur cour* (there is one thing that surprises me in astrology: how it is that people who know all the secrets of the gods . . . should have any need to pay court) (vii. 396).

446. SUBJUNCTIVE IN ADJECTIVE PROPOSITIONS. — We need not examine here the adjective proposition denoting a complete proposition and equivalent to a second co-ordinate proposition: *On essaya de le convaincre, ce qui réussit* (= *et cela réussit*). In this case the verb which follows the relative is always in the indicative.

When it belongs to an isolated noun the adjective proposition may be explicative or determinative. As an explicative it may be omitted without the omission damaging the general sense of the phrase: *Chacun a son défaut où il revient toujours*; and it may have the function either of a principal proposition: *J'ai un ami que j'attends* (= *et je l'attends*); or of an adverbial proposition: *Cet élève qui travaille* (= *parce qu'il travaille*) *fera des progrès*. In both cases the verb of the dependent proposition is always in the indicative.

We have then only to consider the determinative proposition, i.e. one that determines or restricts the signification of the subject to which it relates: *L'élève qui travaille bien fera des progrès* (a pupil who works well will make progress).



In the following cases the verb of the adjective proposition takes the subjunctive :

I. In a relative proposition denoting an aim or consequence, with an indeterminate substantive as antecedent: *Montrez-moi un chemin qui conduise à la vérité* (show me a road that leads to truth). In this respect the syntax has not changed during the whole course of the language. But Old French came much nearer the Latin, and employed this construction after a determinate substantive as well :

*Quatre homes : tramist armes  
Qui lui alassent décoler. (Saint Léger, 37.)*  
(He sent there four armed men  
To go and behead him.)

*Voilà que c'est de bien choisir les thresors qui se puissent affranchir de l'injure* (behold what it is, well to choose such treasures as may be saved from injury) (Mont. i. 38, p. 142).

II. When the action is presented as uncertain or probable, as after a principal sentence which is negative in form or sense, or after one which is interrogative, conjunctive, or conditional :

*Ce bloc enfariné ne me dit rien qui vaille. (La Font. i. 258.)*  
(This floury block to me bodes nothing good.)

*Trouves quelqu'un qui sache comme moi raisonner de ces choses* (find a man who is able to reason like me about these things). *Il y a peu d'hommes qui soient capables de chercher et de trouver la vraie gloire* (there are few men who are capable of seeking and finding true glory). *Qu'y a-t-il qui vous fasse peur ?* (what is there to frighten you ?). *Si c'est une chose qui se puisse faire, elle sera faite* (if it is a thing that can be done, it shall be done).

Such has been the constant practice. However, it can easily be understood that according to the point of view of the writer the verb will take either the indicative or the subjunctive. Compare the following examples: *Qui est*

*celui qui meure sans quelque regret ? (who is the man to die without some regret ?) (Malh. ii. 157).*

*Quel conseil... croyez-vous qu'on doit suivre ? (Rac. iii. 69a.)*

*(What counsel... do you think should be followed ?)*

*Seigneur, qu'a donc ce bruit qui vous doit étonner ? (id. iii. 160.)*

*(My lord, what's in this sound to frighten you ?)*

III. Similarly, when the determinative proposition relates to a superlative or to the adjectives *seul*, *unique*, *premier*, *dernier*, the practice has always been to put it in the subjunctive, unless the proposition expresses an absolute reality: *C'est le meilleur homme qu'on puisse trouver (he is the best man to be found)*; but: *Achetez les meilleurs vins que vous trouverez (buy the best wines you find)*. *C'est la seule, l'unique place où vous puissiez aspirer (it is the only place to which you could aspire)*; but: *C'est l'unique, la seule, la première, la dernière fin que l'on doit se proposer (it's the only—first—last—end one ought to set oneself)*<sup>1</sup>. Here again we may note occasional divergence between the syntax of the 17th century and present usage :

*Vouloir ce que Dieu veut, est la seule science*

*Qui nous met en repos.*

*(Malh. i. 43.)*

*(To wish what God wishes is the only knowledge to set us at rest.)*

*Il est le seul des poètes qui sait parfaitement ce qui convient au poète (he is the only poet who knows perfectly what is right for the poet) (Rac. v. 488).* *Je crois que c'est le seul de sa famille qui a l'âme tendre (I think he is the only member of his family who has a tender soul) (id. vi. 477).* *Il admirera l'armée navale la plus belle qu'il est possible (he will admire the finest naval force possible) (Sév. ix. 142).* *Cette pratique... bannit l'éloquence du seul endroit où elle est en sa place (this practice... banishes eloquence from the only spot where it is in its place) (La Bruy. ii. 184).*

<sup>1</sup> [In both II. and III. the subjunctives of *pouvoir*, *devoir*, &c., followed by the infinitive in French, often correspond to the English supine.]

447. SUBJUNCTIVE IN ADVERBIAL PROPOSITIONS.—The adverbial proposition may express (1) a circumstance of place: *Allez où vous voudrez*; (2) a circumstance of time, either simultaneous with the action in the principal sentence: *Je ferai cela quand vous viendrez*; posterior: *J'ai fait cela après qu'il est parti*; or anterior: *Je ferai cela avant qu'il ne vienne*; (3) a circumstance of cause, introduced by *parce que*, *puisque*, &c.; (4) of aim, introduced by *afin que*, *pour que*, &c.; (5) of condition, introduced by *au cas que*, *pour peu que*, *à moins que*, *pourvu que*, &c.; (6) of concession, introduced by *quoique*, *bien que*, *soit que*, &c.; (7) of result, introduced by *de manière que*, *sans que*, *trop . . . pour que*, *si bien que*, &c.; or finally (8) of comparison, introduced by *comme*, *de même que*, *comme si*, *autant que*, *plus que*, *moins que*, *plus . . . plus*, &c.

I. Propositions of place.—In propositions which denote a circumstance of place, the mood used has invariably been and is the indicative: *Allez où vous voudrez. Il est bien où il est.*

II. Propositions of time.—The conjunctions which introduce these propositions are of two kinds.

(a) Some express a positive fact, and consequently govern the indicative. These are: *lorsque*, *quand*, *comme*, *aussi longtemps que*, *tant que*, *après que*, &c. However, in Middle French *comme*, under the influence of the syntax of the Latin *cum*, was construed with the subjunctive: *Comme tous eussent souppé* (when all had supped) (Comynnes, 36). *Comme le prieur des Augustins naguères se pourmenast, . . . il fut rencontré* (as the prior of the Augustinians was walking about lately . . . he was met) (Cent. Nouv. i. 38). *Comme ils le priaissent de leur vouloir écrire des lois* (as they prayed him to be good enough to write laws for them) (Amyot, *Lucullus*, 291). *Comme quelques-uns . . . le priaissent de se retirer* (as some of them . . . prayed him to retire) (Malh. iv. 208).

(b) Others express, on the contrary, a fact more or less uncertain, as *jusqu'à ce que* (O. F. *jusque, tresque, decique*) and *avant que* (O. F. *primes que, ains que, ainçois que*). With *avant que* the subjunctive was in general obligatory in the Old as it is in the Modern language; with *jusqu'à ce que* the indicative is often found both in Old and Middle French:

*Ensemble furent jusqu'à Dieu s'en ralèrent.* (Alexis, 121.)

(They were together till they returned to God.)

*Le reis Salomon . . . prist sa fille, si la menast à la cited David, de ci que il out parfait sun palais e le temple nostre Seigneur* (King Solomon . . . took his daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had finished building his own palace and the temple of our Lord) (Quat. Liv. Rois, 233). *Jusque à ce qu'il rencontra un chevalier* (until he met a knight) (Rab. i. 160). The indicative in these examples may be explained by the fact that the action is considered as real. For an action which is considered as uncertain, it is not rare to find in Middle French the future instead of the subjunctive: *Jusqu'à ce que le conte s'adressera à les ramentevoir* (until this story comes to recall them) (Le Maire de Belges, 52).

III. Propositions of cause.—Propositions of cause are construed with the indicative, unless they are introduced by *non que, ce n'est pas que*: *Je suis venu parce que tu l'as voulu* (I came because you wished it). *Je viendrai puisque vous le désirez*. But: *Non que je le veuille* (not that I wish it). *Ce n'est pas que nous le désirions* (it is not that we decree it). This was the practice in the Old language, save for *comme*, which in Middle French was construed with the subjunctive in imitation of the Latin: *Car comme les Athéniens et leurs alliés ensemble eussent pris grand nombre de prisonniers barbares . . . les alliés par honneur lui déferèrent la prééminence de départir le butin* (and as the Athenians and their allies had together taken

*a great number of barbarian prisoners . . . the allies conferred on him the distinction of allotting the booty*) (Amyot, *Cimon*, 286).

IV. Propositions of aim or end.—As in Latin, the mood used with propositions that denote an aim or purpose, which is in its nature more or less uncertain, is the subjunctive:

*Sonent mil graisle por ço que plus bel seït.* (Rol. l. 1004.)

(A thousand clarions ring that it may finer be.)

The *pour ce que* of Old French (§ 472, III) was replaced by *pour que*, which from the 14th century has divided with *afin que* the task of introducing final propositions. *Afin que* was still written *à fin que* in the 17th century.

In Old French the conjunction *que*, by itself, could introduce a final proposition:

*Priest l'olifant, que represses n'en ait.* (Rol. l. 2263.)

(He took the olifant [horn], not to have reproach.)

On the other hand after *pour ce* the conjunction *que* might be omitted:

*Nel di por ço des vos n'ait la martiries.* (id. l. 591.)

(I do not say it meaning [*lit.* for that] that none of your men will be cut to pieces.)

*Por ce le fist ne fust aparissant.* (id. l. 1779.)

(For this he did it [that] it should not show.)

The future has sometimes been used exceptionally instead of the subjunctive: *C'est assavoir, afin que quand les sujets de nos dits tres hauts Princes entendront . . . l'illustrité de leurs Princes ancestres* (it is forsooth that when the subjects of our said exalted Princes shall hear the illustriousness of their princely ancestors) (Le Maire de Belges, 5).

V. Propositions of condition.—These are mostly introduced by the conjunction *si* (O. F. *se*).

(a) When the sentence expresses a fact which is not doubtful, the subordinate proposition, if a single one, is in the Old language, as well as in the present language, in the

indicative : *Avertissez-moi s'il vient. Je serai content si vous restez*<sup>1</sup>. When, however, there are two conditional propositions instead of one after *si*, two cases have to be considered in Modern French. If the second conditional proposition is not preceded by *que*, its verb is put in the indicative : *S'il vient et vous voit. S'il venait et vous disait*. But *que* may be inserted before the second proposition, and the mood then used is the subjunctive : *S'il vient et qu'il vous voie*<sup>2</sup>. *S'il venait et qu'il vous dît*. In Old French *que* was not inserted, but the subjunctive was used in the second proposition in all cases :

*Se il se muevent et il me soit conté,  
Perdus avres mon cuer.* (Gaydon, l. 668.)

(If they stir, and it be related to me,  
You will have lost my heart.)

*Se vos li mandiez . . . et li donisiez la seigneurie de l'ost, asses tost la prenoit* (if you summoned him . . . and gave him the command of the army, he would take it soon enough) (Villeh., 41).

(b) Where, on the contrary, the sentence expresses a doubtful fact, Modern French differs in many respects from Old French. Most of these divergences may be explained by the fact that in Old French the subjunctive and the conditional were not yet differentiated (§ 454).

For hypothetical phrases, Modern French offers four combinations :

- (1) Imperfect indicative . . . conditional present : *Si j'avais, je donnerais* (if I had, I should give).
- (2) 1st pluperfect indicative . . . conditional past : *Si j'avais eu, j'aurais donné* (if I had had, I should have given).

<sup>1</sup> In Latin when the principal verb was in the future the subordinate verb was also put in the future. We here and there find this construction in Old French, especially in translations.

<sup>2</sup> [Curiously enough, the French text presents an example in this very sentence : '*Toutefois s'il y a deux propositions . . . après si, et que la seconde soit précisée par que.*']

(3) 2nd pluperfect indicative . . . pluperfect subjunctive :  
*Si j'eusse eu, j'eusse donné* (same meaning).

(4) Imperfect indicative . . . imperfect indicative : *Si je bougeais, on me tuait* (if I had moved, I should have been killed)<sup>1</sup>.

(1). The first combination, *Si j'avais, je donnerais*, was only introduced into the language in the 12th century, before which they hesitated instead between two constructions : (i) Both verbs were put in the imperfect subjunctive :

*S'il fust leial, bien ressembloit baron.* (Rol. l. 3764.)

(Had he been loyal, he had true noble seemed.)

or (ii) the subordinate was in the imperfect subjunctive and the principal in the conditional :

*Se veissions Rollant, ains qu'il fust mort,*

*Ensemble o lui i donrions grans cols.* (id. l. 1804.)

(If we saw Roland before he were dead,

Together with him we should deal great blows.)

These two constructions were still in use in the 16th century. Of the first we may quote : *Se je le sçeusse, je ne le demandasse pas* (if I knew it I should not ask it) (*Heptam.* i. 258). *Si feust condition a laquelle je peusse obvier, je ne me desespererois pas* (were it a condition that I could avoid, I should not despair) (*Rab.* ii. 147). The second may be found in Malherbe : *J'ai reçu votre livre . . . Quelle vivacité d'esprit . . . n'y ai-je point reconnue ! Je dirois quelle saillie ! si en quelque endroit il y eût des reprises d'haleine . . .* (*I have received your book . . . What liveliness of wit have I not found there ! I would say what onrush[es] ! were there any intervals to take breath*) (*Malh.* ii. 427).

In Old French we sometimes also find the conditional present in both propositions :

*Se tu ja le porroies a ton cuer rachater*

*Volentiers te lairoie arriere retourner.* (*Fierabras*, l. 623.)

(If thou couldst ransom it from thy heart,

I would willingly let thee return back.)

<sup>1</sup> [As a variety of the last, we note :

(4a) Imperfect indicative . . . 1st pluperfect indicative.]

This construction is also found in the 17th century: *J'ai à vous dire . . . que, si vous auriez de la répugnance à me voir votre belle-mère, je n'en aurois pas moins à vous voir mon beau-fils* (I have to tell you . . . that if you [should] have any aversion to see me your mother-in-law, I should have no less to see you my son-in-law) (Mol. vii. 146).

(2) and (3). The second combination, *Si j'avais eu, j'aurais donné*, was used in Old French, but not frequently; it scarcely became developed until Middle French; and the same applies to the third combination, *Si j'eusse eu, j'eusse donné*. Until the 14th century the following were the principal combinations used to express a hypothesis not realized in the past:

(a) Imperfect subjunctive instead of the past conditional used in both parts of the sentence:

*S'i fust li ruis, n'i oûssons damage.* (Rol. l. 1717.)  
(Had the king been there, we had had no hurt there.)

*Se Diex ne amast ceste ost . . . ele ne peüst mie tenir ensemble* (if God had not loved this army, it could not have held together) (Villeh. 104).

(b) Pluperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition, with the imperfect subjunctive used instead of the past conditional in the principal proposition:

*Et s'il fust venus plus par tans  
Ne trovast pas de si grant sans  
Les gens, ne de tel volentait.* (Dolopathos, p. 407.)

(And if he had come earlier  
He had not found the people so well-intentioned,  
Nor having such a wish.)

(c) Imperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition and pluperfect subjunctive in the principal: *Li roys : . . se fust bien garantis es galies, se il vousist (voulât)* (the king . . . might well have gone into safety on the galleys, had he wished) (Joinv. 306).

(d) and pluperfect indicative in the subordinate proposition and pluperfect subjunctive in the principal:



*Se tut le mont aveies as poevres départi,  
La croix eüsses prise. (Vie de St. Thomas, l. 2871.)*

(If thou hadst shared all thy worldly goods among the poor,  
Thou wouldst have taken the cross.)

Most of these combinations and others, into the details of which we need not enter, existed in the 15th century, and even in the 16th.

We may, however, note here the construction with *si* and the past conditional which survives in the 17th century: *S'ils auroient aimé ces promesses spirituelles . . . , leur témoignage n'eust pas eu de force (if they had loved these spiritual promises . . . their witness would have had no strength) (Pascal, Pens. i. 252).*

(4). The fourth of the existing combinations, *Si je bougeais, on me tuait*, is identical in sense with the second and third ones; it is equivalent to *Si j'avais bougé, on m'aurait tué*, or *Si j'eusse bougé, on m'eût tué*. This construction is found, though very rarely, in Old French; it gives a greater vivacity:

*Destruite estoit la vile se conroi n'en prenoit. (Rou, i. p. 52, l. 413.)*  
(Destroyed was the town if no precautions were taken.)

Instead of the imperfect indicative in both propositions, the imperfect indicative was frequently used in the principal proposition with the pluperfect subjunctive in the subordinate: *Tuit estoient perdu, se ce ne fust li cuens* (all would have been lost had it not been (for) the count) (Joinv. 296). In this example *fust* has the function of a pluperfect subjunctive, and is equivalent to '*y eût été*.'

*Pyrrhus vivoit heureux s'il eût pu l'écouter. (Boileau, Épi. i. l. 88.)*  
(Pyrrhus had lived happy if he had been able to listen to his advice.)

Instead of the imperfect subjunctive in the subordinate proposition we may find the 1st pluperfect indicative: (4 a) *Si j'avais dit un seul mot, on vous tuait* (had I said a single word, they would have killed you).

VI. Propositions of concession.—(1) In the present language, all conjunctions and conjunctive locutions which indicate concession require the subjunctive, except *quand* and *quand même*, which are construed with the conditional. We say: *Quand même tu aurais fait cela* (even if you had done that), but: *quoique, bien que tu le veuilles* (although you wish it). This usage was far from being so strict until the 17th century, and the indicative is frequently found with *quoique, bien que, encore que, malgré que*, locutions which indeed were but of late introduction into the language. Malherbe held that both constructions should be preserved, *bien que vous fussiez* and *bien que vous fûtes*, the former for doubtful suppositions, the second for positive facts. Thus we have the indicative in:

*La mienne, quoique aux yeux elle n'est pas si forte.* (Mol. iii. 251.)  
(Mine [hand], although to the eye it seems not so strong.)

*L'ambassadeur présenta sa lettre au Roi, qui ne la lut pas quoique le Hollandois proposa d'en faire la lecture* (the ambassador presented his letter to the king, who did not read it, though the Dutchman proposed that it should be read) (Sév. ii. 454).

Ménage blamed Vaugelas for writing *quoique quelques-uns seraient d'avis* instead of *quoique quelques-uns soient d'avis*.

The subjunctive was enforced only when the conjunction was understood, as was the case when two concessive propositions were in opposition:

*Voelllet o non, toi i laissat son tens* (temps). (Rol. I. 1419.)  
(Will he or no, each leaves there his life.)

*Mais soit cette croyance ou fausse ou véritable.* (Corn. iii. 514.)  
(But be this belief or false or true.)

And the present language requires that the two alternatives should be preceded by the conjunction *que*: *qu'il veuille ou non*; or that there should be a repetition of *soit que*: *soit que cette croyance soit fausse, soit qu'elle soit vraie*.

The subjunctive was and is enforced when by omission of the conjunction the concessive proposition is changed into an independent proposition :

*Ne vous contraignez point : dût m'en coûter le jour,  
Je tiendrai ma promesse...* (Corn. vi. 426.)

(Force not yourself ; should it cost me my life,  
I'll keep my promise.)

(2) The idea of concession, instead of being marked by conjunctions expressed or understood, may be marked by *qui que*, *quoi que*, followed by a verb ; by *quelque* or *tout* accompanied by a substantive or adjective followed by *que* ; by *si*, *pour*, *tant*, &c., accompanied by an adjective or adverb followed by *que*. These various constructions all require the subjunctive, except *tout . . . que*, which governs the indicative : *Qui que vous soyez. Quoi que vous disiez. Quelque part que vous soyez. Pour sage qu'il soit* (wise though he be). But : *Tout sage qu'il est* (wise as he is). In the Old language also the subjunctive is mostly used. Exceptions are rare<sup>1</sup>, and arise mostly from an imitation of Latin syntax, which in this case required the indicative :

*Donet as pœures ou qu'il les pot trover. (Alexis, 19.)*  
(Gives to the poor wherever he could find them.)

<sup>1</sup> In the numerous examples in Old French of *lequel . . . que*, followed by the future or conditional, we have not concessive propositions, but simple relative propositions. Thus as late as Malherbe we find : *Il aura dent pour dent, on ail pour ail, lequel qu'il voudra, c'est à dire rien pour rien* (he shall have eye for eye, tooth for tooth, whichever he pleases, that is to say, nothing for nothing) (iii. 55). When, on the contrary, *lequel . . . que* has a concessive sense it governs the subjunctive : *Mais lequel des deux qui vienne, qu'il tâche surtout de venir seul* (but, whichever of the two comes, let him try above all to come alone) (J. J. Rousseau, *Letter to du Peyrou*, 8 Sept. 1767). We have the same thing in sentences like the following :

*Et dist : Chevaliers, or alés  
Quel part que vous onques volés.*  
(Chrest. de Tr., *Perceus*, l. 8261.)

(And said, 'Knights, now go  
Whithersoever you please.')

*Quel part qu'il se turnout (tourna), ses adversaires surmontout (surmonta) (wherever he turned he overcame his adversaries) (Quat. Liv. Rois, 52).*

*S'il n'est bon courtisan, tant frisé peut-il être. (Régnier, Sat. xii. l. 13.)*  
(If there be no good courtier, however curled [his hair].)

VII. Propositions of consequence or result.—The mood in propositions of consequence is sometimes the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive. The indicative is used if the consequence is in the past: *Il a reçu tant de coups qu'il en est mort.* The subjunctive is used if the consequence is in the future: *Faites en sorte que l'on ne vous voie pas (act so that you may not be seen).* Such has been the practice throughout the whole history of the language. Sometimes, however, though rarely, we find the future instead of the subjunctive to denote that the consequence is to come: *Je trouveray assez façon que chacun vous aydera (I will find ways enough for each one to help you) (Saintre, 75).* *Je ferai en sorte vers mon frere, que sa teste sera tesmoing (I will so act to my brother that his head shall be witness) (Heptam. i. 291).* Old French often omitted the conjunction *que*:

*L'empereur tant li dones avoir  
N'i ait Francis qui tot ne s'en merveil. (Rol. l. 570.)*

(Give so much wealth to the emperor,  
That there be no Frenchman who does not altogether marvel.)

VIII. Propositions of comparison.—We saw (§ 374, 2, p. 595) that after *mieux* in the sense of *plutôt* in the Old language *que* was used with the subjunctive; while the infinitive is used in the Modern language.

On the other hand with *pour peu que*, and down to the 17th century with *si peu que*, the indicative was used:

*Charles chancelot, por poi qu'il n'est chasûs (tombé). (Rol. l. 3608.)*  
(Charles staggers; a little more and he had fallen.)

*Si peu que j'ai d'espoir ne luit qu'avec contrainte. (Corn. iii. 522.)*  
(The little hope I have shines but constrainedly.)

With *comme si* Old and Middle French very frequently used the subjunctive :

*A l'eglise se fist porter*

*Come se il ne peust aler.* (Rou, l. 604, p. 31.)

(He had himself borne to church

As if he could not walk.)

*Comme si ce fust marchandise malaisée que reprehensions et nouvelles* (as if reprehension and new devices were merchandise hard to come by) (Mont. i. 25).

In all other cases the mood is invariably the indicative.

#### IV. Infinitive.

448. INFINITIVE MOOD.—The *infinitive* is the verbal substantive. This accounts for its being freely construed with the article in Old French :

*Ja li corners ne vos avrunt mestier.* (Rol. l. 1742.)

(Now to blow the horn would be no help to you.)

*Va bone femme, a tun ostel dormir ; si le déséniureras par le dormir* (go, good woman, and sleep at thy house, and sober thyself by sleeping) (Quat. Liv. Rois, 4). *Et luy souvint comment a son departir n'avoit dict a dieu à la dame* (and he remembered how at his leaving he had not said goodbye to the lady) (Rab. i. 334). Pascal, in the 17th century, still writes : les marchers, les toussers, les éternuers (walkings, coughings, sneezings); and La Fontaine : le manger, le dormir, et le boire (eating, sleeping, and drinking); and we have preserved traces of this construction in *un être, des vivres* ('vivres,' victuals), *le devoir, le repentir*, &c.; but in these words the infinitive has renounced the verbal idea and French has never gone so far as Italian and used *le se repentir* (il pentirsi).

It is owing to this substantive function of the infinitive that it may be used as a nominative, predicate, or direct object : *Mentir est une honte. Souffler n'est pas jouer. J'aime mieux travailler.* Down to the 17th century it could

also be used as an indirect object and even be co-ordinated as such with an ordinary substantive by the conjunction *et*: *Son salut dépendoit de lui plaire* (*his safety depended on pleasing her*) (Rac. ii. 487). *On ne parle plus que de guerre et de partir* (*nothing is talked of now but war and departing*) (Sév. iii. 18). *A force de goût et de connoître les bienséances* (*impelled by taste and the understanding of etiquette*) (La Bruy. ii. 221).

449. SIMPLE INFINITIVE.—I. The simple infinitive (i.e., the infinitive not introduced by a preposition) occurs after the declaratory verbs *croire*, *s'imaginer*, *savoir*, &c.; after some verbs of feeling, e.g. *aimer mieux*, *préférer*, *désirer*; after verbs of motion: *aller* (*être* in the sense of *aller*<sup>1</sup>), *courir*, *accourir*, *descendre*; after some auxiliary verbs, *aller*, *devoir*, *vouloir*, *pouvoir* (§ 432); after the verbs *daigner*, *faillir*, *manquer*, *penser*, *oser*, *sentir*, *laisser*, *voir*, *faire*, and the prepositions *voici*, *voilà*, which contain the verb *voir*: *Voici venir le printemps* (*here [= now] comes the spring*).

The present practice resembles that of Old French in some respects, and differs in others. It resembles it in this way, that, unlike Middle French and the language of the 17th century, it makes use of the preposition when the infinitive is the real subject of a verb: *Il est beau de mourir pour la patrie*. In fact Old French in this case had the choice between the simple and the prepositional infinitive. Side by side with sentences on this model: *N'est mie petite chose estre gendre le rei* (*it is no light thing to be son-in-law of the king*) (Quat. Liv. Rois, 72), many such phrases may be found with the preposition *à* or *de*: *Et fu grans mervouille à regarder* (*and it was a great marvel to behold*) (Villeh. 236). *Ce estoit trop laide chose . . . de soy enyvvrer* (*it was too ugly a thing . . . to make oneself drunk*) (Joinv. 23). A few impersonal verbs only, as *il estuet* (O. F.

<sup>1</sup> [In all the compound tenses (*J'ai été à Paris*, &c.) and in the preterite (*je fus à Paris*); the latter is very archaic.]

= *there is need*), *il convient*, &c., were generally construed with the simple infinitive. Between the 14th and the 18th centuries there was, on the contrary, a tendency to employ only the simple infinitive: *Pour quoy est necessaire se pourveoir d'amys* (*wherefore it is needful to provide oneself with friends*) (Commynes, 39). *Puis que vous plaist me faire tant d'honneur* (*since it pleases you to do me so much honour*) (Rab. ii. 204). *Le plus aspre et difficile mestier du monde . . . c'est faire dignement le roy* (*the hardest and most difficult craft in the world is to play the king worthily*) (Mont. iii. 7). *Pourquoi . . . ne sera il pas capable de le connoistre et de l'aymer en la manière qu'il lui plaira se communiquer à nous?* (*why . . . shall he [man] not be capable of knowing and loving Him in the way in which He shall be pleased to communicate Himself to us?*) (Pasc., Pens. i. 286).

*Et c'est n'estimer rien qu'estimer tout le monde.* (Mol. v. 447.)  
(And to esteem all the world is to esteem nothing.)

When occurring as the object, the simple infinitive, on the contrary, was used in Old as well as in Middle French more widely than in Modern French. In the 17th century the simple infinitive was still allowed as the object of *prier*, *promettre*, *demander*, *tenter*, and *feindre*. The list of verbs governing this construction would be a very long one for previous centuries. Similarly in the 17th century the comparative locutions *à moins que*, *mieux que*, *plutôt que*, were regularly followed by the simple infinitive; while at the present day they require the preposition *de*. There is still, however, some hesitation with *aimer mieux que* (*to prefer*) (*il aimerait partir mieux que rester*, or *que de rester*).

II. The verbs of feeling, *sentir*, *entendre*, *voir*, and even *laisser* and *faire* construed with the infinitive, give us the type of expression called the *infinitive proposition*, i.e. a proposition where the noun or pronoun that accompanies the infinitive is its subject. This form, which is in constant use in Latin (the subject of the infinitive being

put in the accusative case), often occurs in Old French, especially in translations; and it was sometimes even preceded by a preposition: *Et l'our donna rentes pour elles vivre* (and he gave them incomes for them to live) (Joinv. 725). It becomes more and more frequent in the 15th and 16th centuries with all kinds of verbs of belief or desire, as in Latin: *Par ce moyen il luy sembloit le Roy estre affoibly de la tierce partie* (by this means it seemed to him that the king would be weakened by a third [of his power]) (Comm. 80). *Il luy feut respondu qu'ils demandoient les cloches leur estre rendues* (he was answered that they asked for the bells to be given back to them) (Rab. i. 68). *Vegece . . . veut l'homme de guerre estre nourri aux champs* (Vegetius wishes the warrior to be bred in the fields) (Noel du Fail, i. 7). Similarly, as late as the 17th century: *Il se trouve assez de vaillants hommes estre prêts à toutes occasions d'épandre leur sang* (enough brave men are found to be ready on every occasion to shed their blood) (Malh. ii. 472).

*La voyant si pâle, il la crut être morte.* (Corn. i. 233.)  
(Seeing her so pale, he thought her to be dead.)

This construction has been limited in the Modern language to the verbs of feeling quoted above; it calls for the following observations.

The subject of the infinitive is not necessarily in the accusative, but may be in the dative: *Je l'ai entendu parler* (I heard him speak); *Je les ai vu venir* (I saw them come) (*le, les*, accusatives, are the logical subjects of *parler, venir*). *Je lui ai entendu dire* (I heard him say); *Je leur ai vu faire telle chose* (I saw them do, &c.) [*lui, leur*, datives, are the logical subjects of *dire, faire*].

When the subject is in the accusative the sentence may present the following types: (1) *Il le fait périr* (he makes him perish), the infinitive being intransitive. (2) *Il le fait avouer son crime* (he makes him avow his crime), the infinitive being



transitive, and with an object expressed. (3) *Il le fait tuer* (he has him put to death), the infinitive being active in form, passive in sense.

When the subject is in the dative, *Il lui fait tuer* (he makes him kill, i.e. someone else), the dative may easily be explained as follows. Consider the sentences *Je lui donne un livre*; *Je lui vois un livre entre les mains* (I see a book in his hands). In these sentences *lui* is in the dative. The second naturally leads up to this new sentence: *Je lui vois lire un livre* (I perceive him to read a book). In this last sentence the notion of the dative has disappeared, although the form is modelled on the preceding phrase, and *lui* appears as the logical subject of the action expressed by *lire*.

Such, then, are the two starting-points of the constructions to be examined, where we find, on the one hand, the infinitive of a transitive verb having a passive signification with an active form; on the other, the dative *lui* renouncing its etymological function and assuming a new one.

(i) *Construction with the accusative*.—In *il le fait périr* (he makes him perish), the pronoun *le* is both the direct object of *fait* and the subject of *périr*. It follows that in compound tenses the participle *fait* ought to agree with the object when this precedes it. So we find in the 17th century:

*Qui ma flamme a nourrie et l'a faite ainsi croître.*  
(Which has nourished my flame, and made it thus grow.)

Although Malherbe (iv. 278) reproaches Desportes for this concord, we still read in Montesquieu: *La simplicité des lois les a faites souvent méconnaître* (the simplicity of laws has often made them misunderstood), and this tradition has persisted in popular speech [although it has been lost in literary French].

In Old French, corresponding to *il le fait avouer son crime* (he makes him avow his crime); *il le fait tuer* (he makes (i.e. lets) him be killed), we have in the perfect tense

*il les a faits avouer leur crime, il les a faits tuer.* Consequently there would have been no difference in the inflexion of the participle in the two sentences: *La femme que j'ai entendue chanter.*—*La chanson que j'ai entendue* (Mod. F. *entendu*) *chanter.* *Entendu* would have been declined in both cases, because the subject of the infinitive in either case is the object of *entendu*: *J'ai entendu la femme chanter*—*J'ai entendu la chanson être chantée.* It is this construction that we must recognize in the following lines, which would otherwise be inexplicable:

*Par les traits de Jéhu j'ai vu percer le père;  
Vous avez vu les fils massacrés par la mère.* (Rac. iii. 614.)

(I saw the father pierced by Jéhu's arrows;  
You have seen the sons massacred by the mother.

They are equivalent to: *j'ai vu le père être percé par les traits de Jéhu*, &c. If we modify the sentence and say: *Mon père que j'ai vu percer par*, &c., here also *percer* is equivalent to *être percé*, and *vu* will have for its object the relative *que*, representing *mon père*. With an object of another gender and number, it is evident that *vu* would have been declined: *Les frères que j'ai vus percer par les traits de Jéhu*; *La chanson que j'ai entendue chanter par cette artiste.*

As we shall see below (ii), the grammar of to-day no longer permits a construction of this kind. However, the new rule has not affected the verb *laisser*, and in the case of this verb the grammarians sometimes make the participle agree with the preceding object, sometimes leave it undeclined.

(ii) *Construction with the dative.*—There are two types of this construction: *il lui fait périr* and *il lui fait avouer son crime.* In the former the verb is intransitive and without any object; in the latter the verb is transitive and accompanied by an object.

There are no longer any examples of the construction *il lui fait périr*, in which the active infinitive would have the

function of a passive. But it existed in Old French, and has left numerous traces in Modern French, with *faire*: *Vous l'entendez, Monsieur, je ne lui fais pas dire* (*you hear her, sir, I don't make her say [it]*) (Dancourt, *Les Bourgeoises à la mode*, Act iv. Sc. 6); with *laisser*:

*Faites votre devoir et laissez faire aux dieux.* (Corn. iii. 312.)  
(Do your duty and let [things] be wrought by the gods.)

The type *il lui fait avouer son crime* is a frequent idiom in both the Old and the Modern language: *Je ne le lui fais pas dire* (*I don't make him say it*).

*Je me laissai conduire à cet aimable guide.* (Rac. iii. 176.)  
(I let myself be led by this kind guide.)

The subject of the infinitive may be understood, the sentence offering then the primitive construction without showing whether the subject is in the accusative or the dative: *Les marchandises qu'on a fait vendre* (*the goods which they made [some one] sell*); *Les paroles qu'il a entendu dire* (*the words which he heard [some one] say*). In the present language the feeling for this construction is almost lost, as may be seen in the rules for the concord of the past participle. With the verb *laisser* usage is uncertain; with other verbs, *voir*, *entendre*, &c., the concord varies according to the construction<sup>1</sup>. With *faire* the participle is not declined. Whence comes the difference? Probably from the greater or less facility of using the given verb in the passive voice. Formerly *Elle a été laissée chanter*; *Elle a été entendue chanter*, were used, and such phrases might still be used. But *Elle a été faite chanter* is inadmissible.

Thus *faire* has been considered as forming one with the following infinitive, the combination being equivalent to a simple factitive verb. By the end of the 16th century the indeclinability of the past participle of *faire* with the

<sup>1</sup> [The participle agrees if its immediate complement is the preceding noun or pronoun; it is indeclinable if its immediate complement is the infinitive: *nous les avons vus courir*; *les soldats que j'ai vu massacrer*.]

infinitive had become a fixed rule. Thus the line of Olivier de Magny,

*Ainsi le ciel l'a faite naître,*  
(So heaven let her be born,)

contains a solecism, and the language now uses this verb periphrastically to form factitives.

*Faire* is also used with the infinitive in the expression *Il ne fait que parler, que jouer, &c.* (he does nothing but talk, play, &c.). How is this use to be explained? According to some the infinitive is here a substantive, and this construction offers one of the most curious examples of the persistence of the substantive use of the infinitive in the Modern language; but it may be objected that in this construction what is felt in the verb is an infinitive and not a substantive. According to others the infinitive keeps its full verbal value, while *faire* has an intensive function analogous to that of the English *to do* (*I do play*). Some examples have been cited of this English expression in Old French, but they are contested; and neither explanation can be accepted without reserve.

Again, the language makes a distinction in the use of the infinitive according as its subject is in the accusative or the dative. When the infinitive is used absolutely there is a tendency to put its subject in the accusative: *Je le laisse faire; Je le fais travailler; Je le vois venir*. We no longer say currently, like Corneille: *Laissez faire aux dieux*. *Laissons-lui faire* has become *laissons-le faire*.

When, on the contrary, the infinitive is followed by a direct object, its subject is more often put in the dative: *Laissez-lui faire son devoir; Je lui vois commencer un grand travail*. *Je le vois commencer un grand travail*, although it occurs, is not so good. Compare the two phrases: *Je l'entends chanter; Je lui entends chanter une chanson*.

**450. PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE.**—Here French and the other Romance languages diverge from Latin. What the

Latin expressed by the declension of the gerund has from the Romanic period been rendered by the infinitive preceded by a preposition. The prepositions so used are numerous: *à, de, pour, sans, jusqu'à*, &c. The most important are *à* and *de*. Practice has varied greatly with regard to the use of the preposition *à* before the infinitive; it was especially used in the Old language: *commencer, espérer, tenter, essayer à faire*. Later, from the 13th century, the use of *de* increased at the expense of *à*. However, modern usage often hesitates still between the two prepositions.

**De + infinitive.**—The development given by the language to *de* has resulted in making this preposition a sort of sign of the infinitive. In many cases its only function is to announce this mood. *De* retains its proper value (1) when the infinitive is the complement of a noun or an adjective<sup>1</sup>: *le désir de vaincre; désireux de vaincre*; (2) when the verb or the adverb which precedes it governs the preposition *de*: *accuser quelqu'un d'un crime, d'avoir commis un crime* [Eng. *of*]; *louer quelqu'un d'un travail, d'avoir fait un travail* [Eng. *for*]; *loin, près du départ, loin, près de partir* [*de* not translated in English]; *hors de la maison; hors de le battre, il ne pouvait le traiter plus mal* [Eng. *of*].

But *de* seems to have lost all its proper signification in: (1) *Il est honteux de mentir*; (2) *Il aime mieux travailler que de sortir*; (3) *Il me demande de venir*; (4) *Grenouilles de sauter* (*frogs [began] to jump*); (5) *De dire s'il eut tort ou raison, je ne sais*. In these five cases the preposition *de* introduces the infinitive: its use corresponds with that of the English preposition *to*, but is more variously developed. Whence comes this usage? The Old language will explain it.

Where we now say: *La paix est une belle chose; Le mensonge est une chose honteuse*, in Old French they used: *Bonne chose est de paix; Chose honteuse est de mensonge*;

<sup>1</sup> [The English *of* in the corresponding *desire of doing*.]

that is: *Bonne chose vient de paix* (a good thing comes of peace); *Chose honteuse vient de mensonge* (a shameful thing comes of untruthfulness). As the substantive could be replaced by an infinitive, the Old language used: *Chose honteuse est de mentir*, *Honte est de mentir*; and with the pleonastic attribute *ce* accompanying the verb *être*: *C'est honte de mentir* (it is shame to lie). In this last form the proper sense of *de* was weakened, and the language saw in this expression a new construction, and *ce* was soon replaced by *il* (§ 390, IV, p. 622): *il est honteux de mentir*.

Thus it was that in the construction examined the preposition *de* lost all its etymological significance, and became the mere sign of the infinitive. Hence the extension that we note in the foregoing examples: *Il aime mieux travailler que de sortir*. *Il fait plus que d'obéir*. Here the language still uses the simple infinitive also: *Il aime mieux travailler que sortir* (he prefers working to going out).

The expressions (3), (4), and (5), on the previous page, must be further considered.

In *Il lui demande de venir*, *venir* is the direct object of *demande* (being comparable to *un service* in *Il lui demande un service*); the preposition *de* simply serves to soften the juxtaposition of the two verbs. In the phrase *Il le prie de venir*, which has been modelled on the type of *Il lui demande de venir*, the language comes to construe a transitive verb with two uncoordinated direct objects.

In *Grenouilles de sauter* we find the construction called 'infinitive of narration' or *historic infinitive*. It is generally explained by supposing an ellipsis: '*Grenouilles entreprennent de sauter*'; the explanation is wrong, for no ellipsis could give a satisfactory account of this idiom. As a matter of fact it comes from Latin, which uses the historic infinitive in the same way; and the preposition *de* has here no other function than that of introducing the infinitive.

In *De dire s'il eut tort ou raison, je ne sais*, *de* only serves

to announce the infinitive, as we see from the direct construction : *Je ne sais dire s'il eut tort ou raison*. This mode of expression, where the infinitive is placed either as the subject or object at the beginning of the sentence, has become antiquated. It was, on the other hand, in very frequent use down to the 17th century : *D'appeler les mains ennemies, c'est un conseil un peu gaillard* (to call on hostile hands is a somewhat light-hearted counsel) (Mont. i. 23). *De m'en deffaire, je ne puis* (get rid of them, I cannot) (id. iii. 9). *De les appeler hérétiques, cela n'y a nul rapport* (to call them heretics, that has nothing to do with it) (Pasc., Prov. 348).

... *De faire fléchir un courage inflexible,  
De porter la douleur dans une âme insensible,  
D'enchaîner un captif de ses fers donné . . .  
C'est là ce que je veux.* (Rac. iii. 33a.)

(To make an inflexible courage yield,  
To bring pangs into an insensible soul,  
To fetter a prisoner wondering at his chains . . .  
'Tis this that I desire.)

We next consider the use of the various prepositions other than *de* with the infinitive.

**À + infinitive.**—The preposition *à* is used before the infinitive after verbs denoting a tendency, purpose, or aim : *inciter, encourager, exhorter, aimer à . . .* The construction with the infinitive is usually the same as with substantives : *contribuer à faire réussir une affaire, — à la réussite d'une affaire*.

In the Old language a much greater use was made of the preposition *à* ; but before the increasing use of the preposition *de* the preposition *à* became restricted to the expression of tendency with growing precision. In the 17th century the respective uses of these prepositions were debated and the grammarians became entangled in endless distinctions. It is impossible here to point out all the variations of custom with regard to this point since the 17th century. We say, or have said, in-

differently: *commencer, essayer, continuer, demander à faire* and *de faire*; *s'efforcer, s'engager, s'occuper à faire* and *de faire*.

The verbs *contraindre, forcer, obliger*, are remarkable, since in the active voice they are followed by *à*: *forcer, obliger, contraindre à . . .*; and in the passive they are followed by *de*: *Il est forcé, contraint, obligé de . . .*

The preposition *à* denotes also, as we shall see (§ 462, V, 2), among other relations: the means, the instrument: *se battre à l'épée; travailler à la machine; un moulin à vent*. We also find *à* followed by the infinitive, with the same signification. *On croirait, à vous entendre, que vous êtes seul maître ici* (*one would think, from hearing you, that you are sole master here*).

*À vaincre sans péril, on triomphe sans gloire.*

(By conquest without danger we triumph without glory.)

We may here point out the special construction where *à* + the infinitive is used as an attribute with the function of the passive future participle: *C'est à craindre* (*it is to be feared*). *Il est à croire*. *Ce n'est pas à dédaigner*. *C'est un procès à ne jamais finir* (*'tis a law-suit never to be ended*). Here, as we have seen (§ 433, II), the active voice stands for the passive.

Again, *à* + the infinitive may be (1) the complement of an adjective, in the active sense: *Je suis prêt à vous entendre* (*I am ready to listen to you*). *C'est un homme prêt à tromper*. Or (2) the complement of an adjective, in the passive sense: *Le vin est prêt à boire* (*the wine is ready to drink, i. e. to be drunk*). *C'est un homme facile à tromper*. Or (3) the complement of certain verbs, in the passive sense: *Il y a tout à espérer* (*everything is to be hoped*). *Je vous le laisse à faire* (*I leave it to you to do [i. e. to be done]*). *Ce que j'ai à faire*. *Cela donne fort à penser* (*that gives much matter for thought [= suspicion]*).

**Après + infinitive.**—*Après* in Old and Middle French was used with either the present or the perfect infinitive:



*après écrire, après avoir écrit.* The present is now only found in a few locutions, such as : *après boire, après diner* ; present usage requires the perfect infinitive, which may usually be rendered into English by the gerund : *après avoir bu* = *after drinking*.

We sometimes find in the 16th century, especially in Rabelais, the ellipsis of *après* before a perfect infinitive : *Pantagrue avoir entièrement conquis le pays de Dipsodie, en icellui transporta une colonie de Utopiens* (*Pantagrue, [after] having entirely conquered the country of Dipsodia, transported therein a colony of Utopians*) (ii. 15).

**Depuis + infinitive.** — *Depuis* until well into the 17th century was used before the perfect infinitive : *Depuis avoir vestu nostre chair* (*after clothing on our flesh*) (Calvin, *Inst.* 374) ; *Depuis avoir connu feu Monsieur votre père* (*since I knew your late father*) (Mol. viii. 170). It is no longer used with the infinitive.

**Par + infinitive.** — *Par*, denoting the means or instrument, was still currently used in the 17th century before the infinitive :

... *La nuit des temps ! nous la saurons dompter*  
*Moi par écrire et vous par réciter.* (La Font. vi. 90.)

(The night of time ! we shall be able to conquer it,  
 I by writing, and you by declamation.)

*Je rendois mon voyage inutile par être trop court* (*I should have made my journey useless by being too short*) (Sév. ix. 188). *Vous le serez davantage par cette conduite que par ne pas vous laisser voir* (*you will be more so by this conduct than by not letting yourself be seen*) (La Bruy. i. 248).

This construction only persists in Modern French in two cases, after the verbs *commencer* and *finir* : *il commence par dire* (*he commences by saying*) ; *il finit par avouer* (*he ends by confessing*).

**Pour + infinitive.** — *Pour* before the infinitive has one of two meanings : it expresses the aim or the cause.

When expressing the aim it points to a future action.

The language has not changed in this use of *pour*: *il a travaillé, il travaille, il travaillera pour réussir* (in order to succeed). *Afin de* may here be substituted for *pour*. In the locution *quand il fut pour partir* (when he was about to start<sup>1</sup>), *pour* with the infinitive is equivalent to a real active future participle (= Lat. *iturus fuit*).

When expressing *cause* *pour* is at present only used with a perfect infinitive. *Il est puni pour avoir désobéi* (he is punished for having disobeyed). Down to the 17th century it could be followed in this sense by the present infinitive: *Ne méprisez point un homme pour avoir des parents que la fortune n'a pas beaucoup favorisés* (despise not a man for having parents whom fortune has not greatly favoured) (Malh. ii. 77). *D'autres vont à la charge pour n'oser demeurer dans leurs postes* (others go to the charge for not daring to stay at their posts) (La Rochef. i. 116, note). *Un homme d'esprit, et qui est né fier, ne perd rien de sa fierté et de sa roideur pour se trouver pauvre* (a man of intelligence who is born proud loses nothing of his pride and stiffness for happening to be poor) (La Bruy. i. 230).

In Old French, *pour* followed by the infinitive had also the sense of *dût-il, dussent-ils* (= *should he, they*).

*Ja por morir ne vos en faldra nuls.* (Rol. l. 1048.)  
(Now even to [should they] die, none shall fail you.)

**En + infinitive.**—*En* is now only used before the gerund: *en parlant*. We find, however, some examples of *en* before the infinitive in the Old language: *en garder les tues paroles* (Mod. F. *en gardant les paroles*) (by observing thy words) (*Psaut. d'Oxf.*, 118).

**Other prepositions + infinitive.**—The prepositions *sans, entre, jusqu'à* (the latter containing the preposition *à*), are also used before the infinitive; they call for no special comment.

<sup>1</sup> [*When he was for starting* is current in the same sense in Irish English, and has not the meaning of 'in favour of' that the form possesses in standard English. Cf. p. 703.]

### SECTION III.—*The Tenses.*

451. Tenses of the verb.—452. Tenses of the indicative.—452 a. The conditional.—453. Tenses of the imperative.—454. Tenses of the subjunctive.—455. Tenses of the infinitive.—456. Participles.—457. Active participle.—458. Passive participle.

**451. TENSES OF THE VERB.**—The tenses are divided according to their form into two corresponding series: simple tenses and compound tenses:

#### Simple Tenses.

#### Compound Tenses.

##### INDICATIVE MOOD.

Pres. <i>Je chante.</i>	Perfect <i>J'ai chanté.</i>	<i>Je suis tombé.</i>
Impf. <i>Je chantais.</i>	1st Plupf. <i>J'avais chanté.</i>	<i>J'étais tombé.</i>
Pret. <i>Je chantai.</i>	2nd Plupf. <i>J'eus chanté.</i>	<i>Je fus tombé.</i>
Fut. <i>Je chanterai.</i>	Fut. Perf. <i>J'aurai chanté.</i>	<i>Je serai tombé.</i>

##### CONDITIONAL MOOD<sup>1</sup>.

Pres. <i>Je chanterais.</i>	Past <i>J'aurais chanté.</i>	<i>Je serais tombé.</i>
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##### IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Pres. <i>Chante.</i>	Perf. <i>Aie chanté.</i>	<i>Sois tombé.</i>
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##### SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Pres. <i>Que je chante.</i>	Perf. <i>Que j'aie chanté.</i>	<i>Que je sois tombé.</i>
Impf. <i>Que je chantasse.</i>	1st Plupf. <i>Que j'eusse chanté.</i>	<i>Que je fusse tombé.</i>

##### INFINITIVE MOOD.

Pres. <i>Chanter.</i>	Perf. <i>Avoir chanté.</i>	<i>Être tombé.</i>
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##### PARTICIPLES.

Pres. <i>Chantant.</i>	Perf. <i>Ayant chanté.</i>	<i>Étant tombé.</i>
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It will be seen that certain verbs are construed in their compound tenses with the auxiliary *être*; these are all intransitive verbs<sup>2</sup>. At the present time the use of one or other auxiliary is almost settled<sup>3</sup>. A certain number of

<sup>1</sup> The question as to whether the Conditional belongs to a distinct mood is discussed in § 452 a.

<sup>2</sup> See, with regard to the compound tenses of the different kinds of pronominal verbs, §§ 456, 457.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 423.

intransitive verbs are construed only with the auxiliary *avoir*, a certain number only with *être*; others with both auxiliaries: with *avoir* to denote the action, with *être* to denote the state. Custom has not always been so fixed. In Old and Middle French it was freer, and most of the intransitive verbs could be construed with either auxiliary, according to the thought to be expressed. There, also, *avoir* was generally used to denote the action and *être* to denote the state:

*J'ai allé*      and      *Je suis allé*;  
*J'ai tombé*    and    *Je suis tombé*;  
*J'ai sorti*     and     *Je suis sorti*.

As late as the 17th century the choice was freer than now; but from that period we find the grammarians limiting this freedom and enunciating the principles which were destined soon to triumph. The people, however, continue to say as in Old French: *j'ai tombé, j'ai monté*.

We shall now consider the function and signification of the different tenses.

**452. TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.** — In the indicative mood, the action presented is accomplished in the present, in the past, or in the future.

**I. PRESENT.**—(1) The present tense expresses the action as being performed at the moment of speaking: *Le voici qui vient* (*here he comes*). *Vous écrivez* (*you write*).

By extension the present may serve to express the past if one wishes to render the action more vivid; the narrator, reverting in spirit to the past, seems to be present at the action, and to describe what he remembers just as if it were happening before his eyes; this is called the historical present: *On cherche Vatel . . . ; on va à sa chambre ; on heurte, on enfonce la porte ; on le trouve noyé dans son sang ; on court à Monsieur le Prince qui fut au désespoir* (*they seek Vatel . . . they go to his chamber ; they knock, they*

*break in the door ; they find him drowned in his blood ; they run to Monsieur le Prince who was in despair*) (Sév. ii. 189).

Old and Middle French went further : they freely mixed up present and past tenses in the same sentence : *Et maintenant traient a la terre ferme . . . et pristrent port devant un palais* (and now they draw to dry land . . . and took harbour before a palace) (Villeh. 134). *Si sacqua son espee . . . a deux mains et trancha le Cervelat en deux pièces* (he draws his two-handed sword, and cleft the Sausage in two) (Rabel. ii. 414). Some examples of this licence may still be found in the 17th century : *Mes pères ne répondent rien, et sur cela mon disciple de M. le Moine arriva* (the fathers answer nothing, and thereupon my disciple of M. le Moine arrived) (Pasc., Prov. 10). In the present language this mixture of tenses is hardly to be found, save (a) with the declaratory verbs *dit-il, fait-il, ajoute-t-il, &c.*, interpolated in a direct narration ; (b) with such locutions as *peut-être, naguère, voilà*, which contain a present tense of which the signification has become effaced in course of time ; or (c) in the verbal expressions *qu'est-ce que, c'est que, qui sait, n'est-ce pas, n'importe*, and also *c'est in : c'est lui qui a fait cela*.

(2) The present is also used to express (a) a general truth : *L'homme propose et Dieu dispose*, or (b) an habitual action or state : *Je lis tous les jours une heure* (I read an hour every day). *Ils se rencontrèrent près de la ville qu'on appelle Césarée* (they met near the town which they call Caesarea). However, we find some uncertainty in Old French when the proposition preceding is, as in the last example, in a past tense. The following sentence contains a curious mixture of tenses : *Après chevauchierent a une cité que on apele Corone, qui sor mer estoit* (after, they rode to a city which is called Corona, which was on the sea) (Villeh. 330).

(3) The present may express (as in English) a future which is, or is considered, as very near : *Je vous suis à l'instant* (I am with you directly). *Mon frère part la semaine prochaine*.

[(4) Finally, the present is used to express the duration of the action into the present from a specified time : *Il y a deux ans qu'il est veuf ; je l'attends depuis neuf heures* (he has been two years a widower ; I have been waiting for him since nine o'clock). Compare the corresponding use of the imperfect (p. 753).]

II. PAST.—The past is expressed by several tenses, because the past action may be considered at different moments of duration, either by itself, or in relation to some other action which is either anterior or posterior to this past action. Latin had three tenses, imperfect, aorist (or perfect), and pluperfect, to render the relations of the past. French has preserved these three tenses<sup>1</sup> and has added to them a perfect, a 2nd pluperfect, and a conditional (see Book II, §§ 215-218).

(1) *Imperfect*.—The imperfect expresses an action taking place at the same time as some other past action : *il jouait pendant que j'écrivais* (he was playing while I was writing). The second action may be understood : *C'était par une belle journée de printemps*.

By a natural extension it is also used in narration to express a frequent or habitual action : *Il faisait une promenade tous les matins* (he took a walk every morning).

These two uses of the imperfect no doubt existed from the earliest times of the language : *Samedis estoit ; nous fîmes la première procession* (it was Saturday ; we made the first procession) (Joinv. 129).

*Où est Otho e li cuens Berengiers,  
Ive et Ivories que j'aveie tant chiers ?* (Rol. l. 2405.)

(Where is Otho, and Count Berenger,  
Ivo, and Ivorie, whom I held so dear ?)

But down to the 15th century we far oftener find the preterite than the imperfect, in both cases, and especially

<sup>1</sup> The French 1st pluperfect corresponds in sense though not in form to the Latin pluperfect, a periphrase, as we know, having replaced the simple form used in Latin.

in reference to an enduring fact : *Ensi se partirent del port, ... et li jors fu bels et clers* (thus they quitted the port, ... and the day was fine and bright) (Villeh. 119). *Et par les messaiges envia li rois ... une tente ... qui mout cousla, car elle fu toute faite de bone escarlate* (and by the messengers the king sent a tent, which cost much, for it was made all of good stuff<sup>1</sup> (Joinv. 134). *La premiere enseigne dont il la cogneut estoit un livre ancien dont la couverture fut de couleur obscure* (the first sign by which he knew it was an old book, the binding of which was of dark colour) (Alain Chartier, *l'Esp.* 282). In very old French, instead of the imperfect or the preterite, the simple pluperfect (since lost), corresponding in form with the Latin pluperfect, was used :

*Bel avret cors, bellesour anima.* (*Eulal.* l. 2.)

*Elle colpes non avret, poro nos coist.* (*id.* l. 20.)

The Modern French equivalents are : *Elle avait un beau corps, une âme plus belle.—Elle n'avait pas de fautes, pour cela elle ne brûla pas* (Fair had she body and a fairer soul.—She had no faults ; therefore she did not burn). Yet *avret* is the equivalent of the Latin pluperfect *habuerat* and signifies etymologically '*avait eu*' (had had).

[The imperfect may also denote an action in the past, extending from or during a specified time up to the time spoken of : *il était là depuis midi, depuis six mois* (he had been there since noon, for six months). In such cases it corresponds with the English pluperfect. (See corresponding use of the present, p. 752.)]

Lastly, we note another construction of the imperfect, peculiar to the language of the 16th and 17th centuries. In Classical Latin the present and past conditional were rendered by the imperfect and perfect indicative with verbs of obligation or possibility : *Pompeius erat deligendus* (Pompey should have been chosen). *Deleri exercitus potuit*

<sup>1</sup> [Not necessarily scarlet ; it might be white.]

(the army might have been destroyed). The imperfect has the function of a conditional in : *il falloît s'enquérir qui est mieux sçavant, non qui est plus sçavant* (we ought to inquire who is the better learned, not who is the more learned) (Mont. i. 24, p. 73). *Le cardinal Mazarin ne devoit jamais l'abandonner* (Cardinal Mazarin ought never to have abandoned him) (Rac. v. 88). *Maint<sup>1</sup> est un mot qu'on ne devoit jamais abandonner* ('maint' is a word which ought never to have been given up) (La Bruy. ii. 206)<sup>2</sup>.

For the use of the imperfect after *si*, with the function of a conditional, see below, p. 760.

(2) *Preterite and Perfect*.—The preterite expresses the past absolutely; it presents the action as beginning, going on, and ending at a moment in the past, without any reference to the present time : *j'écrivis hier matin* (I wrote yesterday morning). The perfect, on the contrary, expresses a past action in its relation to the present moment, and one whose consequences are going on at the moment of speaking : *j'ai fini, j'ai mangé* (I have eaten), that is, 'I am—at present—in the state of a person who has eaten.'

Such is the theory of these two tenses. In practice it is far from being carried out in the present language. In fact, when the perfect is followed by a direct object its signification is weakened, and it indicates a past absolute : *J'ai mangé mon pain* (I ate my bread). Moreover, in easy style and conversation, when it is not followed by an object it takes the place of the preterite, the latter having now only a literary use, which it is destined soon to lose altogether.

As a matter of fact the distinction between these two tenses was not a sharply established one even in the Old

<sup>1</sup> [The word *maint*, though condemned by the Academy, has returned into use since La Bruyère; see note in the edition quoted.]

<sup>2</sup> We also find the present used as a conditional : *il est à désirer qu'on cherchât une fin aux écritures* (it would be desirable to seek some limit to written proceedings [in law]) (La Bruy. ii. 185).



language<sup>1</sup>. Thus we see, on the one hand, the preterite used instead of the perfect in : *Si revenrons a Henri . . . qui a sejourne a Panphyle trosque a l'entree de l'iver. Et lor prist conseil* (*We shall return to Henri who stayed in Pamphylia until the beginning of winter. And he took counsel*) (Villeh. 402); on the other hand we find the preterite constantly replacing the perfect : *Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat<sup>2</sup>, conservat* (*if Louis keeps the oath, which he swore [i. e. has sworn] to his brother Charles*) (*Oaths of Strasb.*). *Sachiez nos ne venimes mie por vos mal faire, ains venimes por vos garder* (*know that we came [i. e. have come] not to harm you, but we came [i. e. have come] to guard you*) (Villeh. 146). This latter substitution was much more frequent than the former. The preterite was thus used not only to represent the past absolute, but also to denote a past in relation with the present. This confusion continued in Middle French. It was only from the 16th century that it was attempted to regulate the proper respective uses of these tenses. Taking

<sup>1</sup> In the epic style in particular, the preterite and perfect were used indifferently, especially when the past was preceded by a present tense :

*Oliviers montet desours un pui halfor,  
Guardet sour destre par mi un val erbos,  
Si veit venir cele gent paienor  
Sin apelat Rollant son compaignon. (Rol. l. 1017.)  
(Oliver mounts upon a higher knoll,  
Looks on his right through a grassy valley,  
He sees this host of pagans coming,  
Then called Roland his companion.)  
Lor oirre apresent, n'i ont plus demore;  
Congri demandent, es chevals sont monte.  
(Aym. de Nerb. l. 1564.)*

(They make ready their journey, and stayed there no more;  
They ask leave, and mounted their horses.)

*Il garde avant, vit un espi forbi,  
Il s'abaissa, maintenant l'a saisi. (Gir. de Viane, 95.)  
(He looks in front, and saw a furbished pike,  
He stooped, now he has seized it.)*

<sup>2</sup> [*Jurat* = *juravit* (Lat. *juravit*).]

the view that the perfect (*passé indéfini*) represented a past action indefinitely, and that the preterite (*passé défini*) represented an action which had taken place during a period not only past, but anterior to a certain moment, the grammarians created an imaginary 'rule of twenty-four hours' (*règle de vingt-quatre heures*); there had to elapse the interval of at least one night between the moment of speaking and the past action to give the right of using the preterite. This was an artificial rule; and it has not prevented this tense, which was so extensively and generally used in Old French, from daily losing ground, and even disappearing from the spoken language.

(3) *1st and 2nd Pluperfects*.—The first pluperfect expresses an action which is completely past in relation to another which is also past: *Il avait dîné quand je suis venu* (*he had dined when I came*). If, on the contrary, the action is considered as only just finished in relation to another past action, the 2nd pluperfect is used: *Quand j'eus dîné, je partis* (*as soon as I had dined, I went away*). This somewhat subtle distinction was also almost unknown until the 13th century; the special function of the 2nd pluperfect was not yet fully established, and it was constantly used instead of the 1st pluperfect:

*Li reis Marcillies out son conseil finet,  
Sin apelat Clarin de Balesguet. (Rol. l. 6a.)*  
(King Marcillus had finished his council,  
Then he called Clare of Balesguet.)

We not infrequently see one or other of these tenses used also instead of the preterite or even the imperfect. The use of the 2nd pluperfect for the preterite was especially frequent in the Middle Ages:

*L'emperre le vit, si'et encontre leves  
Et out trait son chapel, parfout li at clinet.*  
(*Voy. de Charlem. l. 145.*)  
(The emperor saw him, and rose to meet him  
And doffed his hat; profoundly bowed to him.)

*Onques n'en osat hoen en cest mostier entrer,  
Se ne li commandai o ne li oi rovet.* (id. l. 150.)

(Never dared man to enter this church  
Unless I commanded or asked him.)

452a. THE CONDITIONAL.—A. *Function of the conditional as a tense.*—The conditional present, considered as a tense, that is the 'future in the past,' is only used in Modern French—(1) in subordinate propositions: *Je ne savais pas qu'il viendrait hier. Il annonçait ce qu'il serait un jour.* Or (2) in propositions apparently absolute, but which are in reality subordinate, the principal one being understood: *Perrette rêvait tout haut: elle vendrait son lait, achèterait des poules, vendrait ses œufs au marché, &c. (Perrette dreamed aloud: she would sell her milk, buy fowls, sell her eggs at the market, &c.).*

*Deux Compagnons, pressés d'argent,  
A leur voisin fourreur vendirent  
La peau d'un Ours encor vivant,  
Mais qu'ils tueroient bientôt, du moins à ce qu'ils dirent.  
C'étoit le roi des ours, au compte de ces gens.  
Le marchand à sa peau devoit faire fortune;  
Elle garantirait des froids les plus cuisants:  
On en pourroit fourrer deux robes plutôt qu'une.*

(La Font. l. 497.)

(Two comrades, for money being pressed,  
To a furrier close by did sell  
The skin of a bear while still alive,  
But whom they soon would kill, or so they said.  
Their estimate ran: he was the king of bears,  
And with his skin the merchant's fortune would be made;  
'Twould guard against the bitterest cold.  
'Twould line two robes [they said] as soon as [lit. sooner than] one.)

In these examples a principal proposition is understood: '*Perrette se disait qu'elle vendrait son lait, &c.*' '*Ils disaient: que le marchand devait faire fortune, qu'elle garantirait . . . et qu'on pourroit fourrer . . . &c.*' Here we have to deal with the conditional, not as a mood, but as a tense. This may be replaced approximately by a periphrase

formed from the imperfect of *devoir* with the infinitive: *Elle garantirait des froids* or *Elle devait garantir des froids*. Thus compare the preceding line :

*Le marchand à sa peau devoit faire fortune.*

Whenever the conditional may be replaced by this periphrase formed by the imperfect of *devoir* with an infinitive, we have to deal with the conditional tense and not the mood.

In its temporal significations the conditional has a compound tense, *J'aurais chanté*, which presents the same characteristics. With the simple conditional two actions, both past, are presented ; and the second action, expressed by the conditional, is in the future with regard to the first : *Je ne savais pas qu'il viendrait*. With the compound tense three actions are presented : in *Je ne savais pas qu'il aurait fini quand vous viendriez* (*I did not know he would have finished by the time you came*), we can distinguish the actions of *savoir*, of *finir*, and of *venir*, all three past. The remotest is that expressed by *savoir*, and the other two are in the future in relation to it ; but of these the action of *finir* is anterior to that of *venir* ; it is a pluperfect in relation to the action of *venir*. This is why this action is expressed by the tense which is improperly called conditional past. If we change to the past the phrase : *Je sais qu'il aura fini quand vous viendrez* (*I know that he will have finished when you come*), we shall have : *Je savais qu'il aurait fini quand vous viendriez* (*I knew that he would have finished when you came*).

B. *Function of the conditional as a mood.*—The conditional expresses not only a past action, which is in the future in relation to a more remote action in the past ; it also expresses a mode of future action. Take the two phrases : *Il partira demain s'il a de l'argent* (*he will go to-morrow if he has money*). *Il partirait demain s'il avait de l'argent* (*he would go to-morrow if he had money*). The

conditional in the second sentence expresses the same idea as the future in the first, but presents the action as doubtful.

Why should this future of doubt be expressed by the same tense as the future in the past; i. e. why should *je partirais* (= *je partir avais, j'avais à partir*) express this future of doubt? It must not be supposed that this latter use has arisen from the former. It is derived directly from the Latin, which, having neither tense nor mood to express the conditional, had to render it by the subjunctive or the indicative. Thus of the past tenses of the Latin indicative, *cantabam* (*I was singing*), *cantavi* (*I sang*), *cantaveram* (*I had sung*), the two first were also used in the same sense as the French *je chanterais*, the last in the sense of *j'aurais chanté*. Consequently the periphrase *cantare habebam* was equivalent not only to *je chanter avais, je chanterais*, that is *j'avais à chanter* (future in the past), but also to *j'aurais à chanter, je chanterais* (conditional mood). The sense of the latter construction was rendered obvious to the mind by the conditional proposition beginning by *si* that regularly accompanied it: *Il partirait s'il avait de l'argent*. But in many cases the proposition beginning by *si* is replaced either (1) by a principal proposition: *Ne venez pas, il vous frapperait* (which is equivalent to *Si vous veniez, il vous frapperait*); *À l'entendre, on croirait* (equivalent to *si on l'entendait, on croirait*); or (2) even by a complement of circumstance: *À bout d'efforts, il se découragerait*, &c. In some cases again (3) the condition is not expressed at all: *Je voudrais être écoutée* (*I should like to be heard*) (*si je le pouvais* being understood). This last construction gradually led to the effacement of the conditional idea in such phrases as: *Oserais-je l'avouer?* (*dare I own it?*); *Nieriez-vous le fait?* (*would you deny the fact?*); *On dirait que vous êtes malade* (*you seem to be ill*), where the form of the conditional indicates a simple supposition. Finally it comes to denote merely a softened form of affirmation in: *Je ne*

*saurais que vous dire* (I do not know what to say to you); *Je voudrais dire un mot* (I should like to say a word); *Je vous souhaiterais beau temps* (I wish you fine weather); *Il se pourrait qu'il vienne* (it is possible that he is coming).

All these uses are derived from the fundamental function of the conditional, that of expressing a past, present, or a future action depending on a condition.

In conditional phrases, according to present usage, the verb of the principal proposition is put in the conditional and that of the subordinate proposition in the imperfect preceded by *si*: *Je partirais si je pouvais*. Here we have the use of the imperfect already noted (§ 447, V, p. 728) to express not a past action, but a present or future conditional action: *Je partirais aujourd'hui si je le pouvais* ('mais je ne le puis aujourd'hui' being understood). *Je partirais demain si je le pouvais* ('mais je ne le pourrai pas demain' understood).

Herein the Modern language diverges from the Old; Old French to express this idea used either: *je partisse demain si je pusse*, or *je partirais demain si je pusse*, or *je partirais demain si je pourrais*, putting the proposition of condition either in the imperfect subjunctive or in the conditional. Some traces of this last construction have been preserved in the use of the conditional past: *Je serais parti aujourd'hui si je l'eusse pu* is used side by side with *si je l'avais pu* (I should have gone away to-day if I had been able). As late as the 17th century a few writers used the conditional as in the Old language, in order to render certain special shades of meaning:

*Que te sert de percer les plus secrets abîmes,  
Où se cache à nos sens l'immense Trinité,  
Si ton intérieur, manque d'humilité,  
Ne lui sauroit offrir d'agréables victimes?* (Corn. viii. 31.)

(What avails thee to pierce the depths most concealed  
Where the Trinity immeasurable is hidden from our ken,  
If thine inner self, through lack of humbleness,  
Can offer it no pleasing sacrifice?)

*Lui saurait* is used and not *sait*, the better to accentuate the uncertainty. The simple phrase would be: *Que le sert de percer . . . si ton âme ne sait . . . ?*

. . . *Si d'un sang trop vil ta main seroit trempée,  
Au défaut de ton bras, prête-moi ton épée.* (Rac. iii. 344.)

(If thy hand would be stained by blood too vile,  
Then, failing thine arm, lend me thy sword.)

These lines are generally explained as due to an ellipse: *et si tu crois que ta main serait trempée*; but as a matter of fact there is no ellipse, for here the conditional suffices of itself to express the condition with the implication of doubt. We also find such phrases as: *Je meure si je saurois vous lire!* (may I die if I can read you!). In this last case we have a new use of the conditional instead of the present indicative to express in a softened form a doubtful action: '*Faites ceci.—Je ne puis, je ne sais.*' '*Faites ceci.—Je ne pourrais, je ne saurais.*' Now it is this new function of the conditional merely to soften expression which was transferred by Corneille and Racine into conditional propositions introduced by *si*, as in: *Si ta main seroit trempée*, instead of *Si ta main étoit*. In such cases, then, the verb of the principal proposition must be in the present and not in the conditional.

Thus, to sum up, the verb of a proposition of condition depending on a subordinate sentence introduced by *si* is, in general, in the present or the future indicative if the verb of the subordinate proposition is in the present: *Je pars, je partirai, si je puis*; it is in the conditional if the verb of the subordinate proposition is in the imperfect: *Je partirais si je pouvais*. In the first case it is also sometimes put in the conditional to express a particular shade of doubt. In the Old language the verb of the subordinate proposition was also put in the imperfect subjunctive or in the conditional, as well as that of the principal: *Je partirais si je pourrais. Je partirais si je pusse. Je parlisse*

*si je pusse.* This use of the subjunctive will be explained below (pp. 764, 765).

To conclude the theory of the conditional, we have a word to say about the conditional past.

Just as the conditional present corresponds to the future, so the conditional past corresponds to the future perfect: *Il aurait réussi, s'il avait étudié* (*he would have succeeded if he had studied*); the 'success' is in the future in relation to the 'study,' and both are past. *Je n'aurais jamais fini, si je disais tout* (*I should never have finished if I said [i.e. were to say] all*); the action of 'finishing' is here in the future, but past in relation to that of 'saying,' which is also in the future.

The conditional past may be replaced, as we have seen, by the pluperfect subjunctive when it refers to a past action: *Il eût réussi s'il avait étudié.* Finally, by a singular extension the conditional past comes to express a kind of negative future conditioned by an action which did not take place: *Si on avait voulu, il s'en serait allé* (*if they had wished he would have gone away*).

We will now conclude the indicative mood (§ 452).

III. FUTURE. — The expression of the future is not subject to the same restrictions as the past. For the future is the unknown, whilst the various moments of the past are preserved in the memory.

The simple future expresses the action in a time that is to come: *J'écrirai demain.* The relation of two future actions, when the first mentioned is subsequent to the second, is expressed after a fashion by a periphrase: *J'aurai à écrire quand il viendra*<sup>1</sup>. When it is concurrent with the second, both are expressed by the simple future: *J'écrirai quand il viendra.* So there is no special tense for the future corresponding to the imperfect for the past<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Or by using the future for the subsequent, and the future perfect for the anterior, action: *J'écrirai quand il sera venu.*]

<sup>2</sup> [Owing to the faculty of using the present in English with a future



If the first action is anterior to the second, the first is expressed by the future perfect, the second by the future (*futur antérieur*): *J'aurai écrit quand il viendra.*

Thus, to render these various relations of time between two future actions, French has only created a special form for a future action anterior to another future action. Sometimes one of the two actions is understood: *J'aurai peu suivi (quand il parlait understood)*; *Vous aurez oublié votre argent (quand vous êtes parti understood<sup>1</sup>)*. But often the ellipsis of the second proposition is so complete that the future perfect, like the conditional, comes to denote nothing more than a softened affirmation.

**453. TENSES OF THE IMPERATIVE.**—The theory of the tenses of this mood is inseparable from the theory of the mood itself; we refer, therefore, to its treatment above (§ 441).

**454. TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.**—The subjunctive has four tenses: the present and the perfect on the one hand, the imperfect and pluperfect on the other.

The tenses of the subjunctive correspond both to tenses of the indicative and of the conditional. They correspond to present and past tenses of the indicative after certain verbs: these require the verb in the subordinate proposition to be put in the subjunctive rather than the indicative, either in order to convey certain shades of meaning, or owing to the survival of grammatical usages prevalent at various periods in the history of the language. We have already noticed this correspondence of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative with the tenses of the subjunctive (§ 445).

signification after *when, before, after, &c.*, we can readily express the different senses required: *I will write when he comes*; *I shall be writing when he comes*; *I shall have written when he comes.*]

<sup>1</sup> [The closest translation of this future is: *I must have been inattentive, You must have forgotten your money.*]

On the other hand, the subjunctive being the mood of possibility, and hence implying an idea of futurity, we cannot be surprised to find a correspondence between its tenses and those of the future and conditional. To the following sentences, containing *savoir* in the principal sentence :

*Nous ne savons s'il viendra,*  
 " " " *sera venu,*  
*Nous ne savions s'il viendrait,*  
 " " " *serait venu,*

correspond the sentences containing *douter* in the principal sentence :

*Nous doutons qu'il vienne,*  
 " " " *soit venu,*  
*Nous doutions qu'il vînt,*  
 " " " *fût venu.*

And in these the following tenses correspond :

Subordinate Sentence.	Principal Sentence.
present subjunctive	future indicative
perfect subjunctive	future perfect indicative
imperfect subjunctive	present conditional
pluperfect subjunctive	past conditional.

In this correspondence of tenses we note the agreement of the imperfect and pluperfect of the subjunctive with the present and the past conditional, a strange fact that needs explanation.

We have seen (Book II, § 216) that the imperfect of the Latin subjunctive *cantarem* (used also as conditional) was lost in the popular language, and was replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive *cantasse*m (used also as a conditional past). Through this disappearance of *cantarem* the French *chantasse* came from the first to possess four significations, two corresponding to the Classical Latin *cantasse*m (*j'eusse chanté* and *j'aurais chanté*), and two due to an extension

of its functions (*que je chantasse, je chanterais*). These four significations were preserved in the Old language; the two former do not exist in Modern French, which would no longer say:

*Se jo t'oussae la jus sos le degret.* (Alex. 98.)

(If I had known thee there below the step.)

*Sam creissaez, venus i fust mis sire,*

*Ceste bataille oussums (eussions) faite e prise.* (Rol. i. 1798.)

(If you had believed me, my lord had come here,

This battle we should have fought and won.)

*Se Diex ne amast ceste ost, elle ne peust mie tenir ensemble*  
(if God had not loved this army it could not have held together)  
(Villeh. 104). *Et li firent dire que se ne fust por l'honneur*  
*du roy, que ils les feissent noier* (and they sent him word that  
had it not been for the honour of the king they would have had  
them drowned) (Joinv. 455). This usage survives in the  
17th century with the verb *devoir* only:

*Mais puisque son dèdain, au lieu de le guérir,*

*Ranime ton amour qu'il dût faire mourir,*

*Sera-toi de mon pouvoir . . .* (Corn. i. 304.)

(But since his disdain, instead of curing it,

Revives thy love, that it should have killed,

Make use of my power.)

Otherwise it was seldom used from the 14th century, and was totally lost in the 17th century. The imperfect subjunctive used as a conditional past and as a pluperfect subjunctive was replaced by the periphrases created in the Gallo-Roman period: *j'eusse chanté, j'aurais chanté*.

There remain to be considered the two significations that Gallo-Romanic gave by extension to *cantasse* as a substitute for the lost *cantarem*.

*Je chantasse* in both Old and Middle French was the current expression both for the imperfect subjunctive and the conditional present. We need not quote examples of

this form for the imperfect subjunctive, as it is still in use. We quote examples in which it is used for the conditional present:

*S'il fust loial bien resembloit baron.* (Kot. I. 3764.)  
(Had he been loyal, true noble would he seem.)

*Si je le sçusse, je ne le demandasse pas* (did I know it I should not ask it) (Cent Nouv. i. 258). *Il est peu d'hommes qui oseraient mettre en évidence* (there are few men who would dare to display) (Mont. i. 56). *Je ne crois pas pourtant qu'il fût permis de l'écrire ainsi* (I do not, however, think that it would be permitted to write it so) (Vaugelas, ii. 171). This use has, however, now become archaic.

In independent propositions this imperfect is now preserved in two cases:

(1) When the nominative of the verb follows, this inversion replacing an ordinary conditional phrase:

*Coûtât-il tout le sang qu'Hélène a fait répandre,  
Dussé-je après dix ans voir mon palais en cendre,  
Je ne balance point.* (Rac. ii. 54.)

(Did it cost all the blood that Helen caused to flow,  
Should I after ten years see my palace in ashes,  
I do not hesitate.)

(2) In the pluperfect subjunctive with the function of a conditional past: *j'eusse aimé* for *j'aurais aimé*.

[The imperfect subjunctive has fallen into almost complete abeyance in standard conversational usage, and is generally replaced by the present subjunctive where another construction cannot be employed. In literary French it is used as sparingly as possible, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons. See § 447, V, at end<sup>1</sup>.]

#### 455. TENSES OF THE INFINITIVE. — The infinitive has

<sup>1</sup> [... Il serait intéressant d'établir que le passé défini et l'imparfait du subjonctif ont disparu de la langue française (A. Darmesteter, *De la Création Actuelle des Mots Nouveaux dans la Langue Française*, 1877).]

two tenses, the present and the perfect. The present may fulfil the function of a present, imperfect, or future indicative, or of a present conditional, according to the sense of the principal verb. The infinitive in :

<i>il croit voir</i>	is equivalent to	<i>qu'il voit ;</i>
<i>il croyait, il a cru, } il avait cru, voir }</i>	" "	<i>qu'il voyait ;</i>
<i>il espère venir</i>	" "	<i>qu'il viendra ;</i>
<i>il a espéré, il avait } espéré, venir }</i>	" "	<i>qu'il viendrait.</i>

The perfect infinitive may fulfil the function of a perfect or pluperfect indicative, of a future perfect, or a conditional past, according to the tense of the principal verb. The infinitive in :

<i>il croit avoir vu</i>	is equivalent to	<i>qu'il a vu ;</i>
<i>il croyait, il a cru, il } avait cru, voir }</i>	" "	<i>qu'il avait vu ;</i>
<i>il espère être venu</i>	" "	<i>qu'il sera venu ;</i>
<i>il espérait, a espéré, avait } espéré, être venu }</i>	" "	<i>qu'il serait venu.</i>

**456. PARTICIPLES.**—There are two participles, the active (so-called present) participle and the passive (or past) participle.

The active participle may be present: *chantant*; or past: *ayant chanté*. The passive participle is in the past, *chanté*, unless it expresses an action which lasts or continues. It may become an adjective when, expressing a momentary action, it drops the notion of time and so comes to express the result of the action (e.g. *des fleurs fanées* = faded flowers).

**457. ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.**—The active past participle being composed of a present participle and a passive participle, *ayant chanté*, it comes of course under the

treatment of the present participle. Only the present form *chantant* need here be considered.

With this form, corresponding with the Latin *cantantem*, was confused the Latin gerund *cantandi*, *cantando*, *cantandum*. The gerund was indeclinable in the oldest French; the present participle, on the contrary, was declinable from the origin of the language, whether expressing an action or a state; the history of the declinability of the form in *-ant* is neither more nor less than the history of the struggle of the present participle with the gerund.

**I. Gerund.**—(1) It is to the gerund that we must refer the construction, now so common, of *en* with the verbal form in *-ant*, either alone or followed by an object: *en marchant*, *en lisant un livre*.

Down to the 17th century we find in this sense the gerund alone much oftener than the prepositional gerund:

*Asses est mieux que morions combatant.* (Rol. l. 1475.)

(Tis better far we should whilst fighting die.)

*Si com lisant trouvons* (while reading we find) was a current expression in Old French.

*Et les peuples, voyant ce qu'ils n'auroient pu croire,*

*Reconnurent sa gloire.*

(Corn. ix. 115.)

(And the people [through] seeing what they could not have believed,  
Recognized his glory.)

*Crut fléchir un vieux chat, implorant sa clémence.* (La Font. iii. 214.)

(Thought to move an old cat [by] entreating his mercy.)

Compare the consecrated locutions: *donnant donnant* (give and take), *généralement parlant*, *chemin faisant*.

So, too, after the verbs of motion, *aller* and *venir*: *il s'en va chantant* (§ 431) side by side with *le mal va en augmentant*.

When the gerund has a direct object the latter follows; this was not the case in very old French, which placed

the gerund after its direct object, whence the locution (*en*) *chemin faisant*.

In Old French the gerund might be preceded, not only by the preposition *en*, but by any other preposition : *à joie faisant*, *de la teste perdant*, *par pais faisant*, *parmi droit faisant*, *pour mort menaçant*, &c. We have only preserved some remains of these constructions : *à son corps défendant* (against his will), (*à*) *argent comptant* (for ready money, cash down).

Moreover, the gerund, being considered as a veritable substantive, could be preceded by a determinant, either article, adjective, or pronoun, demonstrative, or possessive. Hence we still find in Modern French : *en son vivant* (in his lifetime), *sur son séant* (sitting up), *à mon escient* (to my knowledge), *à bon escient* (knowingly).

(2) Side by side with the prepositional gerund we find the simple gerund (i) as the object of a verb : *faire semblant* (to make a show), a locution which may be traced back to the earliest times of the language, and was in constant use (like *faire entendre* [= to make it understood], which has been lost); or (ii) as the attribute of a substantive expressed or understood, and forming with this an absolute proposition :

*L'arbre tombant, ils seront dévorés.* (La Font. l. 220.)

(On the tree falling they will be devoured.)

[*Vous understood*] *étant sûr que vous avez raison, vous gagnerez votre cause* (being sure that you are in the right, you will win your case). The case where the substantive is understood is rare in the present language. It was not so as late as the 17th century : *Elle ne faisoit autre chose jour et nuit que lever les mains au ciel, ne lui restant plus aucune espérance de secours de la part des hommes* (she did nothing day and night but raise her hands to heaven, [there] remaining to her no longer any hope of help from men) (Rac. iv. 466).

*Après une grande sécheresse venant à pleuvoir . . . il s'en prend au ciel ([il] coming on to rain after a great drought . . . he takes heaven to task) (La Bruy. i. 67).*

II. Present participle.—(1) Side by side with the gerund was the present participle, always declinable; but this participle, in conformity with its etymology (the Latin present participles in *-ans*, *-ens*, having no distinction of form for masculine and feminine), was not at first declined for gender, whether it denoted the action or the state: *chantant* was masculine and feminine singular: *chantans* was masculine and feminine plural. In Old French we have: *une mère aimant son enfant. Des mères aimans leur enfant.* However, as early as the 12th century the feminine form begins to appear: *Les femmes . . . vindrent encuntre le rei Saül . . . carolantes e juantes e chantantes que Saül out ocis mil, e David dis milie* (the women came to meet Saul, rejoicing and playing, and singing that Saul had slain a thousand and David ten thousand) (*Quat. Liv. Rois*, 70). Similarly, in the 16th century: *Ces filles de Scédase, plorantes à l'entour de leurs sépultures et maudissantes les Lacédémoniens* (these daughters of Scedasmus weeping around their graves, and cursing the Lacedaemonians) (*Amyot, Pélopie*, 168). We may, however, add that the agreement in gender was much more rare than the agreement in number. It is oftener met with in the poets than in prose writers, and Palsgrave asserts, also in the 16th century, that the present participle could not have a feminine in prose. In the 17th century there is the same uncertainty. If Madame de Sévigné writes: *Je vous trouve si pleine de réflexions, si stoïcienne, si méprisante les choses de ce monde* (I find you so full of reflections, such a stoic, so looking down on the things of this world), Vaugelas would have one write: *Ces femmes buvans de la limonade* (ii. 154), and rules that the feminine should be used for the participles of intransitive verbs only.



However, alongside this struggle between the two forms of the declinable present participle, the gerund in its turn was exercising its influence and gradually extending its domain. Already in the Old language the participle of an intransitive verb, when denoting the action, was generally replaced by the gerund, that is, the indeclinable form. Moreover, the gerund expressed only the action, whilst the present participle expressed either the action or the state. It was then by a natural impulse that the language was driven to the absorption by the gerund of the present participle expressing the action. This absorption was facilitated by the preservation of the archaic form of the present participle, which, when not declined in gender, was usually undistinguishable in pronunciation from the gerund. However, it was only in 1679 that the Academy made the rule that (1) the form in *-ant* should remain undeclined when denoting an action: *un homme, une femme, des hommes, des femmes errant dans les bois* (a man, &c., wandering in the woods); and that (2) it should agree both in gender and number when denoting a state: *J'ai vu une tribu errante de Bohémiens* (I have seen a wandering tribe of gipsies). Thus the former distinction of the present participle and the gerund was suppressed and replaced by the present distinction between (1) the indeclinable present participle and (2) the declinable verbal adjective.

Most of the authors of the 17th century, writing before the promulgation of this decree, made the present participle agree in number, whether the verb were transitive, intransitive, or reflexive, and whether the active participle were present or past: [*Je*] *qui devois . . . choisir des sujets plus répondants au goût de mon auditoire* (I who ought to have chosen subjects answering better to the taste of my audience) (Corn. iv. 279).

... *Les canons quittants leurs usages farouches.* (id. x. 106.)  
(The cannon, deserting their cruel use.)

*Et plus loin, des laquais, l'un l'autre s'agaçants,  
Font aboyer les chiens et jurer les passants.*

(Boileau, *Sat.* vi. l. 37.)

(And further on, lackeys, teasing one another,  
Make the dogs bark and passers-by swear.)

*Les morts se ranimants à la voix d'Élisée.* (Rac. iii. 613.)

(The dead, reviving at Elisha's voice.)

*Le loup reprit : 'Que me faudra-t-il faire ? —*

*— Presque rien, dit le chien : donner la chasse aux gens*

*Portants bâtons et mendiants.'*

(La Font. i. 72.)

(The wolf returned : 'What shall I have to do !'

'Scarce anything,' said the dog ; 'to give chase to folk

Carrying sticks and begging.')

*L'autre extrémité est celle où arrivent les grandes âmes qui  
ayants parcouru tout ce que les hommes peuvent savoir,  
trouvent qu'ils ne savent rien* (the other extremity is that  
which lofty souls come to, who, having traversed all that men  
can know, find that they know nothing) (Pasc., *Pens.* i. 126).

Even in the 18th century the rule was far from being  
unanimously accepted. Hence the contradictory examples  
utilized by the grammarians of the period to establish  
their rules of impossible subtlety. Hence also the traces  
in the present language of the former declinability, either  
in number: *les allants et venants, les ayants droit, les  
tenants et aboutissants, &c.*; or in gender: *Toute affaire  
cessante, loi tendante à . . . , maison appartenante à tel ou  
tel* [mostly in legal phraseology].

(2) Among the participles classified in the category of  
verbal adjectives some deserve particular note :

(a) In *personne bien portante, à jour ouvrant, à portes  
fermantes, &c.*, the participle is really derived from a pro-  
nominal reflexive verb (*se porter, s'ouvrir, se fermer, &c.*).

(b) In *couleur voyante* (staring colour), *école payante*  
(paying school), *chemin roulant* (road fit for wheeled traffic),  
*rue passante* (busy street), *séance tenante, café chantant*,  
the participle present is, in the mind, the predicate not  
of the preceding substantive, but of a substantive that is

understood: 'a colour that *you* must see, a school where *you* pay, a road where *vehicles* roll, a street where *people* pass,' &c.

458. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—I. The participle used without an auxiliary. In this construction the participle is declined as an adjective. We must, however, except the participles *approuvé, attendu, ci-inclus, ci-joint, excepté, non compris, ôté, passé, suppose, vu*, which, when they precede the substantive, do not change in gender or number (*Je vous envoie ci-joint deux lettres*). *Hormis* (formerly *hors mis*) has even become a preposition. These exceptions were only introduced gradually; they did not all exist even in the 17th century. However, there existed the tendency to make the proposed participle into a neuter adjective for a reason that we shall elucidate immediately in discussing the construction of the participle with the auxiliary *être*.

II. The participle conjugated with the auxiliary *être*.—When used with the auxiliary *être*, the participle is declined, whether it belongs (1) to the passive of a transitive: *Ces marchandises ont été vendues*; or (2) to the past of an intransitive: *Elles sont tombées*.

In the Old language the participle construed with *être*, when placed before the substantive, might often not agree with it:

*Car des dames est venu*

*L'aventure [féminine] dont li lais fu.*

(Marie de Fr., *Eliduc*, l. 25.)

(For to ladies happened

The adventure which the lay was about.)

This irregularity may be explained by the substantive coming after; as its exact form and hence its gender has not yet been revealed to the person speaking, the participle is not declined. We shall see a similar fact explained by the same cause in discussing the number of the verb (§ 459, VI,

p. 785); and the indeclinability of the above-mentioned participles, *approuvé*, *attendu*, &c., placed before the substantive, is accounted for in the same way.

III. The participle conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir*.—When the past participle is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir*, it is subject in the Modern language to rules which grammarians have vied with one another in complicating. In the oldest French the participle does not coalesce with the auxiliary; it is quite distinct from it, has preserved its passive value, and consequently is usually treated as an adjective, and agrees with its object, whatever its place may be :

*Tot est mudes, perdudo est sa color.* (Alex. 1.)

(He is all changed, hath lost his colour [i.e. turned pale].)

It was only from the 12th century that the participle truly began to blend with the auxiliary, to take an active function, and it was the latter which was destined gradually to prevail in time over the passive. From then down to the 16th century, in consequence of this double function, *j'ai écrite la lettre* and *j'ai écrit la lettre*; *la lettre que j'ai écrite*, *la lettre que j'ai écrit*, were used indiscriminately. The following passage of Ronsard (ii. 117) shows this freedom :

*Mignonne, allons voir si la rose  
Qui ce matin avoit desolée  
Sa robe de pourpre au soleil  
A point perdu cette vespre  
Les plis de sa robe pourpre  
Et son teint au vostre pareil.*

(Sweet, let us go see if the rose,  
Which this morning had unfolded  
Her purple robe before the sun,  
Hath not lost this vesper tide  
The folds of her empurpled robe  
And her complexion like to yours.)

Generally speaking, the only case in which it was the rule for the participle to agree was when the object was placed between it and the auxiliary: *J'ai la lettre écrite*. —

In fact, if *avoir* was considered as in itself a verb, the participle kept its passive value and was an adjective, and therefore was obliged to agree: *La lettre que j'ai écrite* was equivalent to 'the letter which I have—there at hand—written'; *J'ai la lettre écrite* was equivalent to 'I have—there—the written letter.' The turn of expression is precisely similar to that in the following phrases: *Elle a les cheveux longs. Il a la tête nue.* Consequently the Old language made no difference between *Il a sa barbe rasée* and *Il a rasée sa barbe.*

If, on the contrary, *avoir* was considered as a mere auxiliary, which, added to the participle, formed a periphrase having the function of a simple past tense—if *j'ai écrit* was the simple equivalent of the Latin *scripsi*—the participle did not agree: *Il a écrit la lettre. La lettre qu'il a écrit. Il a rasé sa barbe.* Each of these apparently compound tenses in that case expressed a verbal idea as simple as *il écrivit, il rasa.*

Such was the syntax of the past participle conjugated with *avoir*, down to the 16th century. However, when the object followed, a natural tendency existed to unite the participle with the auxiliary, and consequently to leave it undeclined: *Il a écrit à son frère une lettre.* After saying the words *Il a écrit*, we do not yet know what will be the nature of the object, and consider *a écrit* as the equivalent of *écrivit*. Hence the tendency to leave the participle indeclinable when the object follows.

On the other hand, the participle necessarily agreed in expressions with the object preceding, like the one below, archaic since the 18th century, but still much used in the earlier part of the 17th:

*Aucun donnement n'a leur gloire flétrie.* (Corn. iii. 323.)

(No sudden fear has tarnished their glory.)

Here the participle had to agree just like the adjective in *Il a la tête nue.* Hence arose a tendency to make the participle agree when it was preceded by the object.

This twofold tendency was exaggerated by the grammarians of the 17th century, who declared that the participle must always be declined when the object precedes. Herein they were wrong; for if in the phrase: *j'ai la lettre écrite*, *écrite* is declined, it is not because *lettre* precedes the participle, but because it separates it from *avoir*, and consequently leaves *avoir* its full verbal value, and gives *écrit* the function of an adjective. It was then an error to apply the same rule to: *la lettre que j'ai écrite*, where *j'ai écrit* formed in the 17th century, as it does now, a periphrase equivalent to a simple tense. At the outside, the participle should have been declared declinable when it was separated from the verb by several complements of circumstance, as in: *La lettre que j'ai sur sa demande et après mûre réflexion écrite* (*the letter which I have, at his request, and after full reflexion, written*).

Erroneous or no, this rule of making the participle agree with the preceding object took root in the majority of cases, so that from the second quarter of the 18th century it was adopted by writers generally. However, in the 17th century it was subject to numerous strange restrictions. Thus the participle did not agree if the subject of the verb came after it:

*Là, par un long récit de toutes les misères  
Que durant notre enfance ont enduré nos pères.* (Corn. iii. 399.)

(There, by a long story of all the woes  
That during our childhood did endure our sires.)

*Ces tristes vêtements où je lis mon malheur  
Sont les premiers effets qu'aït produit sa valeur.* (id. iii. 166.)

(This mourning garb, in which I read my misfortune,  
Is the first result his valour hath produced.)

*Quelle raison a eu la nature de me la donner telle?* (*what reason had nature to give it such to me?*) (Pasc., Pens. i. 43). Again, we find the following odd differences of concord: *La joie que cela m'a donné*, but *la joie que cet accident m'a donné*; and: *Le commerce de cette ville l'a rendu puissante*,

but *nous nous sommes rendus puissants. Elle s'est trouvée guérie*, but *ils se sont trouvés guéris*.

The grammarians of the 18th century tried to bring order into this chaos and established rules which, although more simple than those of the 17th century, are still not free from complexity.

(1) *The participles of transitive verbs agree with the object when it precedes: Je les ai vus.* This general rule offers particular applications:

A. *Combien d'erreurs il a commises. La foule des curieux que ce spectacle a rassemblés. Un de mes amis que j'ai visité hier* (here *un de mes amis* = *un ami à moi*).

B. *Le peu d'efforts qu'il a faits lui a été utile* (here *le peu d'efforts* = *les quelques efforts*). *Le peu d'efforts qu'il a fait l'a empêché de réussir* (*le peu d'efforts* = *le manque d'efforts*) (see § 459, I, p. 781).

C. *Il a cueilli des cerises et en a mangé* (and has eaten some). *Combien Dieu en a-t-il exaucées!* (how many of them has God granted!) *Autant de maux qu'ils en ont soufferts* (as many evils as they have suffered). *Il en a mangé de ces poires.* The present tendency of the language is to leave the participle undeclined when the preceding object is represented by the pronoun *en*.

D. *La chose est plus sérieuse que je ne l'avais cru*<sup>1</sup>. The same holds for the participles *dit, pu, su, voulu*, which contain an ellipsis, and really come under Series F.

E. *La lettre que j'ai cru que vous écrieriez* (the letter which I thought that you would write)<sup>2</sup>.

F. *The participle is followed by an infinitive.*—In the Old language the concord was general, and the participles used

<sup>1</sup> [The *le* in *l'avais cru* refers not to *la chose* but to the infinitive locution *être sérieuse* implied. Compare *Est-elle bonne? Oui, je le crois.*]

<sup>2</sup> [The *que* here seems, while introducing *j'ai cru*, to be felt as the object not of *j'ai cru* but of *vous écrieriez*.]

in sentences derived from *j'entends chanter l'actrice* (*I hear the actress sing*) and *j'entends chanter la romance* (*I hear the song sung*) were treated similarly. Hence we find :

*En mi le vis li ad faite descendre.* (Rol. l. 3920.)  
(Half through his face he made it [the sword] descend.)

*Que li rois ont roveis noier.* (Brut de Munich, l. 4040.)  
(Whom the king had asked to slay.)

*Qui ma flamme a nourrie et l'a faite ainsi croître.*  
(Which has fostered my flame and made it thus grow.)

In the above line of Desportes, Malherbe (iv. 278) corrected *faite* to *fait*; but Maupas, a grammarian of the period, maintained that, in speaking of a woman, one could say *je l'ai vu parler* or *je l'ai vue parler* indifferently. Montesquieu still writes : *La simplicité des lois les a faites souvent méconnaître* (*the simplicity of laws has often made them misunderstood*<sup>1</sup>).

In the simple construction of the Old language : *la romance que j'ai entendue chanter*, *chanter* was used as the equivalent of a passive, *être chantée* : the Modern language has lost this simplicity.

The verb *faire* in the construction here dealt with has been considered as an auxiliary, and its past participle *fait* has become indeclinable in every case : *Les édifices qu'il a fait abattre.* *Les gens qu'il a fait périr.* Popular French, faithful to old tradition, still uses the form : *L'église qu'il a faite bâtir.*

For other verbs, the past participle is declined when the preceding object is really the object of the participle and the subject of the infinitive : *La personne que j'ai entendue chanter*; it is not declined when the preceding object is,

<sup>1</sup> We may note, however, in the 17th century an opposite practice of not declining the participles followed by an infinitive and treating them as ordinary participles : *Beaucoup de poèmes que nous avons vu réussir sur nos théâtres* (*many poems which we have seen succeed in our theatres*) (Cora. i. 63).

*Les a-t-on vu marcher parmi vos ennemis ?* (Rac. iii. 530.)  
(Have they been seen marching amid your enemies?)



according to the new point of view, the object of the infinitive, which is itself the proper object of the participle: *La romance que j'ai entendu chanter.*

However, usage is uncertain with regard to the participles *eu* and *donné*, when they are followed by a prepositional infinitive. These are sometimes treated like the other participles, sometimes like *fait*: *La romance qu'on m'a donné* or *donnée à chanter*, *que j'ai eu* or *eue à chanter*.

(2) *The participles of intransitive verbs*, with a few exceptions in the Old language, have always been indeclinable. However, some intransitive verbs may, when used figuratively or with a cognate object (§ 424, I, III, IV), become transitive: *Les enfants qu'il a pleurés. Cette partie de ma vie, je ne l'ai point vécue.* In this category may be included the rules concerning *coûté, pesé, valu*, which are not declined in their literal sense, but are generally declined when used in a figurative sense.

In Old French some examples may be found of the agreement of the participle *été*, as if it were conjugated, as, logically, it ought to be, with the auxiliary *être*: *Les plus aages, qui en Espagne avoient esté* (the oldest, who had been in Spain) (*Jehan de Paris*, 113).

(3) *Past participle of pronominal verbs*.—We saw (§§ 426, 427) that in the Old language the participle of pronominals always agreed with the subject, whether the verb was subjective or reflexive, even when the pronoun *se* was in the dative (the verb being followed by a direct complement). Such was still the rule in the 17th century:

*Nous nous sommes rendus tant de preuves d'amour.* (Corn. i. 245.)  
(We have exchanged so many proofs of love.)

*Princesse, en qui du ciel les merveilleux efforts  
Se sont plus d'animer ses plus rares trésors.* (id. vi. 294.)

(Princess, in whom the wondrous workings of heaven  
Have delighted to give its rarest treasures life.)

*Ils se sont donnés l'un et l'autre une promesse de mariage*  
(they gave each other a promise of marriage) (*Mol. vii. 195*).

The rule ought still to be given in this form for subjective pronominal verbs, which, as we have demonstrated (§ 426), are either intransitives or else transitives construed like true intransitives. The present enunciation of the rule<sup>1</sup> by a false analysis regards the auxiliary *être* in compound tenses of pronominal verbs as the equivalent of *avoir*; if this holds good for reflexive pronominals (*il s'est frappé, ils se sont frappés*), it is in contradiction with the nature of subjective pronominals, and grammarians are then unable to explain the agreement in *ils se sont aperçus (de), elle s'est jouée (de)*. As a matter of fact the agreement in these verbs arises from the syntax of Old French.

(4) *Participles of impersonal verbs*.—In the impersonal expression *il y a un homme*, 'un homme' was considered in Old French equally as the direct object and as the logical subject of the verb. Consequently the participle of an impersonal verb might agree or not, according to the light in which it was taken. Thus Pasquier (*Recherches*, vi. 15) writes: *Quand quelque faute y eust eue* (when some mistake there had been). But from the 16th century the substantive following an impersonal verb has only been treated as its subject; we say, therefore: *Les chaleurs qu'il a fait*, because *Les chaleurs qui ont été faites* would no longer be admissible.

<sup>1</sup> [The ordinary form of the rules of French grammarians for these verbs may be summarised as follows: (i) Both with *essentially reflexive* (subjective pronominal) and *accidentally reflexive* (reflexive and reciprocal pronominal) verbs 'the auxiliary *être* is used instead of *avoir*.' (ii) With the *essentially reflexive* verbs the participle always agrees, 'because the direct object (*se*) precedes.' (iii) With *accidentally reflexive* verbs the participle agrees when it is not followed by a direct complement, *se* being then a preceding direct object: *Elle s'est piquée au doigt*. But the participle is indeclinable when a direct complement follows, *se* being in that case a dative: *Elle s'est piqué le doigt*. There remain one or two other points for discussion; see the curious inconsistencies noted at the bottom of p. 776.]

# SECTION IV.—*Number and Person of the Verb.*

## 459. Number. — 460. Person.

**459. NUMBER.**—The verb agrees in number with its subject. The usage in this matter has not changed during the whole course of the language. We have, however, the following remarks to make on the use of number.

I. When the subject is a collective noun, the verb is now always put in the singular, contrary to the rule of Latin syntax, which allowed the plural: *Turba ruit* or *ruunt* (*the crowd rushes, or rush*). In Old French, as in Latin, the plural was very frequent: *Li reis cumendad que li clergie alast devant le ost e loassent Nostre Seignur* (*the king commanded that the priesthood should go before the host and praise the Lord*) (*Quat. Liv. Rois, 341, 10*). *Ensi se herbergierent . . . l'ost des François* (*thus sheltered themselves the army of the French*) (*Villeh. 137*).

*Car icel gent si font lor vis*

*Amegrir . . .* (*Rom. de la Rose, l. 436.*)

(For this people make their countenance  
Wax lean.)

From the 16th century it was the rule that every collective used by itself should govern the verb in the singular.

When, however, the collective is partitive, either the singular or the plural may be used after it: (1) the singular if the collective itself impresses the mind: *La foule des affaires l'accable* (*the abundance of affairs overwhelms him*); (2) the plural if the complement of the collective is more in view: *Une foule de gens vous diront* (*abundance of people will tell you*). So with *le peu de*, which is taken as singular when it signifies 'the lack of,' and as plural when it signifies 'the small number of' (see B., p. 777). Some collectives, such as *la plupart*, *le plus grand nombre*, *une infinité de*, *beaucoup*, &c., always require the plural. These distinc-

tions were unknown in Old French. In the 17th century the plural was still generally used :

*Un million de traits, un million de flèches,  
Tomberont à vos deux côtés.* (Corn. ix. 329.)

(A million darts, a million arrows,  
Will fall on either side of you.)

*Une partie des princes sont revenus de l'armée* (some of the princes have returned from the army) (Rac. vii. 129). *La guerre engendre beaucoup de maux, entre lesquels sont le grand nombre d'historiens* (war breeds many evils, among which are the great number of historians) (id. vi. 320). *Tout ce que nous connoissons de courtisans nous parurent indignes de vous être comparés* (all the courtiers that we know seemed unworthy to be compared with you) (Sév. v. 531). Vaugelas, in fact, proclaimed as an absolute rule that one should only say : *une infinité de gens* or *oroient*, because *gens* is in the plural, the agreement being determined by the complement of the collective. At the beginning of the 18th century the French Academy decided that, side by side with *un grand nombre d'ennemis* *parurent*, we might say : *un grand nombre d'ennemis parut*. Hence arose the rules, quoted above, made for the purpose of determining the cases where the singular or the plural should be used respectively.

II. No less subtle distinctions have been established with respect to *un* with a partitive plural as its complement followed by a relative proposition. Should we say : *Il est un de ceux qui a le mieux réussi* or *qui ont le mieux réussi*? From the point of view of the meaning of the sentence, the singular is obviously incorrect ; but in Old French and down to the 18th century no hesitation was felt in putting the verb of the relative proposition in the singular, that is, making the concord with *un* and not with the real antecedent of *qui*<sup>1</sup> : *Li uns des meillours chevaliers*

<sup>1</sup> [The same difficulty exists in English, though the plural is correct. The difficulty may be generally turned in translation by avoiding the relative construction.]

*qui fust en l'ost* (one of the best knights in the army) (Joinv. 275). *L'une des plus saintes communautés qui fût dans l'Eglise* (one of the saintliest communities in the Church) (Rac. iv. 527). *Un grand seigneur qui est un des hommes du royaume qui représente le mieux* (a great noble, who is one of those who live (lit. lives) in the greatest state in the kingdom) (Montesq., *Lett. pers.* 74). Even at the present time this irregularity may be found amongst many writers; and moreover the Dictionary of the Academy still allows the use of the singular side by side with the plural. At bottom, the explanation lies in the attraction exercised by the principal on the relative proposition.

III. The subject, although in the plural, may be sometimes considered as a unity instead of as a plurality by the person speaking; hence the use of the singular in such sentences as *Cinquante mille francs est une grosse somme*, where however the use of the singular is generally tempered by the introduction of the neuter *ce*: *Cinquante mille francs, c'est une . . .* Compare the following examples:

*Trois generacions chet*

*En enfer, et en terre ousi.* (St. Graal, l. 2103.)

(Three generations [of angels] fell into hell and on to the earth also.)

*Et deux ans, dans son sexe, est une grande avance.* (Mol. vi. 165.)

(And two years is a great advance, in her sex.)

*Quatre ou cinq mille écus est un denier considérable* (four or five thousand crowns is a tidy penny) (id. vii. 332) *Cinquante domestiques est une étrange chose* (fifty domestics is a strange thing) (Sév. vi. 401). *Il est vrai que ces deux bouts de la terre où nous sommes plantés est une chose qui fait frémir* (it's true that these two ends of the earth where we are planted is a thing that makes one shudder) (id. vi. 316).

IV. In the Modern language several associated subjects in the singular govern the plural of the verb. The singular is, however, allowed when these subjects are not united by the conjunction *et*, and form a gradation or climax or a synonymy: *Son courage, son intrépidité excite l'admiration.*

*Une parole, un sourire, un regard suffit.* This is really an archaism. In fact until the 18th century it was the general practice, even when the subjects were united by *et*, to make the verb agree with the nearest, i. e. with the last, if they preceded, with the first when they followed it : *L'empereurs Henris et l'os des François se loja* (the emperor Henry and the army of the French encamped) (Villeh. 492). *Une lenteur et une infortune qui les exposoit à la risée de toute l'Europe* (a sluggishness and a lack of fortune which exposed them to the laughter of all Europe) (Rac. v. 261). *Un peu d'esprit et beaucoup de temps à perdre lui suffit* (a little wit and plenty of time to lose is enough for him) (La Bruy. i. 185). *Le chasteau esgarda l'empereurs et sa gens* (at the castle looked the emperor and his people) (Villeh. 471). *Je ne veux point vous dire l'émotion et la joie que m'a donnée votre laquais et votre lettre* (I won't tell you the emotion and the joy that your footman and your letter gave me) (Sév. iii. 409). *De là vient le soudain assoupissement et cette mort* (hence comes the sudden drowsiness, and that death) (La Rochef. iii. 163). Malherbe, who scoffed at the use of the singular in the verses of Desportes, makes use of it himself; and Vaugelas timidly suggests the use of the plural only when the substantives are of quite different meanings.

There is another exception to the rule in the present language, when the subjects are united by *ou* or *ni*. The verb is put in the singular if the action produced by each subject is considered separately, i. e. where the alternative is one of exclusion; the verb may be put in the plural where the alternative is one of accident or indifference; this applies to *ni l'un ni l'autre* and *l'un et l'autre*: *l'un et l'autre se dit ou se disent*. *L'un ou l'autre*, however, always requires the singular. These distinctions did not exist in the 17th century: *Le bonheur ou le malheur vont d'ordinaire à ceux qui ont le plus de l'un ou de l'autre* (good fortune or ill usually go to the very people who have most of one or the other) (La Rochef. i. 233). *Le dégoût ou l'antipathie . . . ne*

*sauroient nuire (disgust or antipathy could not harm) (La Bruy. ii. 145).*

*Sans que ni vos respects, ni votre repentir,  
Ni votre dignité vous en pût garantir. (Corn. iv. 66.)*

(Without the respect due to you, or your repentance, or your dignity, being able to save you therefrom.)

V. We may also note the case of attraction by a plural predicate on the verb *être*, which is sometimes put in the plural although its subject is in the singular. There are frequent examples in the 17th century: *L'épisode, selon Aristote, en cet endroit, sont nos trois actes du milieu (the episode, in Aristotle's sense, at this place, is our three middle acts) (Corn. i. 47). Tout cela sont de beaux compliments (all that is fine compliments) (La Rochef. iii. 100).*

VI. A peculiar case of the number of verbs is that found in such sentences as: *il vint trois personnes*<sup>1</sup>. At first sight we might think that the singular in this case is owing to the presence of the impersonal pronoun *il*; this would be an error, for Old French dispensed with the pronoun, and yet sometimes put the verb in the singular before a following plural subject:

*Parmi Paris en vat trois paire. (Ruteb. i. 195.)*  
(Through Paris there go three peers.)

*Ne l'en demoura que sept cens (there remained of them but seven hundred) (Joinv. 147).* This singular may still be found in the 17th century:

*De tous côtés lui vient des donneurs de recettes. (La Font. ii. 224.)*  
(From every side come to him givers of recipes.)

*N'eût été les misérables fragments qui en ont couru (had it not been for the wretched fragments of it which have circulated) (Boileau, Lutrin, Au Lecteur).* We still say: *Sera-ce vos amis qui vous défendront?* and not *seront-ce*. The speaker, putting the verb before the subject, is not yet conscious

<sup>1</sup> [In English the plural is now used, but this was not always so. Cf. Kellner's *Syntax*, pp. 47, 48.]

enough of the plurality expressed by the latter to bring it out in the form of the verb; hence the use of the singular (cf. § 458, II, p. 782). But even in Old French the verb, when placed before a plural subject, was put in the plural more frequently than in the singular, and, oddly enough, the introduction of the pronoun *il* for a long time did not prevent the verb from remaining in the plural: *Il sont quatre (there are four) (St. Thomas, l. 170); Il se partent de la ville de Calais six des plus notables bourgeois (there go forth from the town of Calais six of the most notable burgesses) (Froiss. iv. 57)*. Here the pronoun is used merely to introduce the subject, and has no influence on the number of the verb. The examples of the plural become more and more rare from the time of Commynes (1445?-1509), and the present use of the singular verb was established gradually.

VII. We have only now to explain the inconsistent concords in the constructions *c'est moi, c'est nous, ce sont eux*. In Old French both the person and number of the verb were governed by the logical subject following rather than the grammatical subject *ce*. We find, then, *ce* being considered as the predicate: *ce suis je, c'es tu, c'est il, ce sommes nous, c'estes vous, ce sont ils*:

*Si demanda: 'Qui estes vous?'*

*Et il respont: 'Ce sommes nous.'*

*(Rom. de Renard, br. iii. l. 227.)*

*(He asked, 'Who are you?'*

*And they answer, 'It is we.')'*

*Se o'estes vous, sel dites . . . .*

*Mais ce ne sui je mie. (Berte, l. 2502.)*

*(If it is you, say so . . . .*

*But it is not I at all.)*

This construction was still in use in the 16th century. But there existed a second construction, in which *ce* was considered as the subject and the following substantive or pronoun as the predicate: *c'est moi, c'est toi, . . . c'est nous*,



*c'est vous, c'est eux*; and this latter triumphed in the 16th century. Nevertheless, by an inexplicable inconsistency, the grammarians of the 17th century, who admitted *c'est nous, c'est vous*, replaced *c'est eux* by *ce sont eux*. *C'est eux* has, however, remained in the popular language. In the written language, *c'est*, referring thus to a subject in the 3rd person plural, has only remained (1) when it is followed by two subjects of which the first is singular and the second is in the plural: *C'est la gloire et les plaisirs qu'il a en vue*; and (2) to indicate the time: *c'est dix heures qui sonnent*. The usage with regard to this point has been established slowly. In the teeth of the grammarians the authors of the 17th and 18th centuries made regular use of *c'est*: *Puisque c'est eux qui en demeurent d'accord* (since it is they who are agreed about it) (Sév. viii. 1). *Ce n'est pas seulement les hommes à combattre, c'est des montagnes inaccessibleles; c'est des ravines et des précipices d'un côté, ... c'est partout des forts élevés* (there are not only men to combat; there are inaccessible mountains, there are ravines and precipices on one side, there are everywhere elevated forts) (Bossuet, Orais. fun. de Condé).

*Ce n'étoit plus ces jeux, ces festins et ces fêtes.* (Volt., *Henr. X.*)

(*'Twas no longer those games, those festivals and feasts.*)

Even at the present day certain authors have no hesitation in putting *c'est* before a plural substantive.

460. PERSON.—In the present language, the rule is that the verb of a relative proposition takes the person of the antecedent to the relative pronoun: *C'est moi qui ai fait cela. C'est toi qui l'as voulu*, &c. However, should the antecedent be followed either by a determinative or a predicate, the verb may take the person of the determinative or predicate equally well with that of the antecedent: *Vous êtes les seuls qui se plaignent* or *qui vous plaigniez*. In the Old language, and even down to the 18th century,

the free use of the 3rd person existed even where the antecedent stood alone:

*Je ne vois plus que vous qui la puissiez défendre.* (Rac. iii. 196.)  
(I see but you left able to defend her.)

... *Vous conjurant d'ôter de votre esprit que ce soit moi qui ait tort* (beseeching you to remove from your mind [the idea] that it is I who am in the wrong) (Sév. i. 511). Even when there were subjects of different persons, including a pronoun of the 1st or the 2nd person, the verb was put in the 3rd: *Vous aimerez mieux que moi, ma paroisse et ma terre vous rendent hommage* (you would prefer that I, my parish, and my estate should do you homage) (Sév. vii. 209). *Un procès que ni moi ni mes juges n'ont jamais bien entendu* (a suit that neither I nor my judges have ever properly understood) (Rac. ii. 142).

## CHAPTER VII

### INDECLINABLE WORDS

461. Indeclinable words.

- I. THE PREPOSITIONS.—462. *À*.—463. *Avec*.—464. *Avant* (devant, &c.).—465. *Contre*.—466. *De*.—467. *En*.—468. *Ens* (dans, dedans).—469. *Fors* or *hors*.—470. *Outre*.—471. *Par*.—472. *Pour*.—473. *Puis* (depuis).—474. *Près* (presque, après).—475. *Rière* (arrière, derrière).—476. *Sans*.—477. *Sous* (dessous).—478. *Sur* (dessus).—479. *Vers* (envers).
- II. NEGATION.—480. *Non*.—481. *Né*.—482. *Ni*.—483. Semi-negative words.—484. Emphasized negation.

461. INDECLINABLE WORDS.—The syntax of indeclinable words comprises that of prepositions and of adverbs of negation. The syntax of other adverbs belongs to that of the order of words except in relations of comparison, where it is identical with that of adjectives (§ 373). That of conjunctions belongs to the syntax of compound sen-

tences, treated already (§§ 444-447). Finally, the interjection has no syntax.

### I. The Prepositions.

**462. À.—À** comes from the Latin *ad*. The preposition *à* at the present day expresses a great number of relations, which in Latin were rendered, some by the preposition *ad*, others by the dative, others by the preposition *cum* (*with*), others again by the prepositions *in* (*in*) or *ab* (*from*, *out of*). Thus we see that the Latin preposition *ad* since it has become a French preposition has been gradually enriched with new meanings and uses.

First the Latin dative disappeared and its functions (of attribution) were rendered by the preposition *à*. Where in Latin we say: *Dono vestem pauperi*, Popular Latin says: *Dono vestem ad pauperem*, and French: *Je donne le vêtement au pauvre*. Thus the language has come to use identical expressions for two relations which the mind still clearly distinguishes: *à* points out (1) simple attribution in: *Je donne de l'argent à mon ami*, (2) a relation of direction in: *J'envoie de l'argent à mon ami*.

The distinction is still evident when the indirect object is a personal pronoun. The pronoun *lui* is used as an absolute dative, as under (1), in *je lui donne une chose*; we cannot use this dative absolutely in sense (2): we say *je pense à lui* and not *je lui pense*. This distinction, which is still living, enables us to ascertain in many instances whether the preposition *à* indicates attribution or direction.

If this discrimination between attribution and direction has been preserved in French for the dative of the pronouns, it has disappeared with respect to nouns; and only a very delicate analysis will enable us to recover the primitive distinction.

In Latin, *ad* not only expressed direction towards a place, but also *proximity* to a place: *esse ad portam*

(to be at the door). Popular Latin rapidly extended this signification to *situation in*, as in : *esse ad campum*, *être au camp* (to be in the camp). So the preposition *à* first indicated *motion towards* : *aller à Rome* ; then *proximity to* : *être à la porte* ; and finally *situation or position in* : *il est à Rome*.

These are the most important significations of the preposition *à* ; from space it has been applied to time and to figurative uses. We shall note below other special developments of its functions.

### I. *Destination of Place.*

(1) With motion : *Aller à Rome. Courir aux armes. Crier au feu.* In this use *à* has gradually lost ground to the gain of *dans*, *en*, *sur*, and *vers* :

*Je méditois ma fuite aux terres étrangères.* (Rac. li. 519.)

(I was planning my flight to foreign lands.)

*Il va se confiner*

*Aux lieux les plus cachés qu'il peut imaginer.* (La Font. i. 92.)

(He goes and shuts himself up

In the most secret places he can think of.)

*Accourti, se lance à lui, l'abat et le déchire.* (id. vi. 302.)

(Runs up, leaps on him, throws him down and tears him.)

*Allant à l'Amérique* (going to America) (id. iii. 159). At present, before feminine names of countries, the point of arrival is denoted by *en* without an article (below, p. 803).

(2) *À* indicates proximity to a place (Eng. *at*) : *La bataille se livra à Valmy. Être à droite, à gauche, &c.*

(3) *À* indicates position in a place : *Il est à Paris.* This usage was still more extended in the 17th century ; in many cases *dans* has been substituted for *à* :

*Je suis jeune, il est vrai, mais aux âmes bien nées*

*La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des années.* (Corn. iii. 129.)

(I am young, it is true, but in well-born souls

Valour does not wait for age in years.)

*Le retire du mal et l'affermi au bien.* (id. viii. 602.)

(Withdraws him from wrong and strengthens him in right.)

*M. de Grignan se résoudra difficilement à ne point passer ces trois mois à sa bonne ville d'Aix* (*M. de Grignan will find it hard to decide on not passing these three months in his good town of Aix*) (Sév. ix. 318). At the present day *à* would be replaced in the above examples by *dans*.

## II. Destination of Time.

(1) Motion towards a future time: *Ajourner à huitaine* (*to adjourn to a week hence*). *À demain les affaires sérieuses. À bientôt.*

(2) Coincidence in time (Eng. *at*). *On accourt à ses cris* (*at his cries they run up*). *Au premier signal* (*at the first signal*).

(3) Accomplishment at a time [Eng. *at*; compare to in to-day, to-morrow]: *Il se lève à six heures* (*he rises at six o'clock*). *À l'âge de vingt-deux ans.* In many cases the Modern language has suppressed the preposition and uses the accusative of time: *Vous viendrez ce soir. Il nous a trompés cette fois. Il a fait beau cette année.* Down to the 17th century *à ce soir, à cette fois*, was said. In certain cases the preposition has been changed. We now say *en même temps* (§ 467, II, p. 804), instead of *à même temps*.

## III. Destination of Purpose.

(1) Tendency towards a goal or purpose: *Courir à sa perte* (*to rush to one's destruction*). *En venir aux mains* (*to come to blows*). And with an infinitive: *Chercher à tromper* (*to seek to deceive*). *Aimer à jouer* (*to love to play*). It was this use that led to the construction of *à* with the infinitive of many verbs down to the 17th century, now replaced by *de* + infinitive (§ 450; § 466, IV): *prescrire à, rechercher à, se proposer à, trouver plaisant à, &c.*

Again, down to the 17th century, before a noun or an infinitive *à* might play the part of *pour* [= *to* in the sense of the obsolete English *for to* before an infinitive] (§ 472, II):

*Et je garde, au milieu de tant d'âpres rigueurs,  
Mes larmes aux vaincus, et ma haine aux vainqueurs.*

(Corn. iii. 286.)

(And I preserve, amid so many rigours harsh,  
My tears for the conquered and my hatred for the conquerors.)

*... Mon cœur, accablé de mille déplaisirs,  
Cherche la solitude à cacher ses soupirs.* (id. iii. 288.)

(My heart, overwhelmed by a thousand tribulations,  
Seeks solitude to hide its sighs.)

*Ah! que ce temps est long à mon impatience!* (Rac. iii. 495.)

(Ah, how slow is the time for my impatience!)

*Ne croyez pas que nous perdions un moment à partir* (do not think that we lost a moment about starting) (Sév. iii. 63).

(2) Construction or adaptation for a purpose (Eng. *for*): *Apté aux affaires* (fitted for affairs). *Impropre au service* (unfit for service). The number of adjectives used thus with *à* was much greater in the Old language, in which *ingrat à*, *sévère à*, *indulgent à*, *aveugle à*, *cruel à*, &c., were employed.

To the same use belong such expressions as *botte à thé*, *service à café*, *tabac à fumer*, &c. [These are rendered in English by compounds: *tea-caddy* = *caddy for tea*, &c.]

(3) Situation with respect to a purpose: *Être au comble de ses vœux* (to be at the height of one's aspirations); *à toute extrémité* (at the last extremity); *à l'abri du danger* (in shelter from danger).

#### IV. Destination of Person.

(1) Motion of attribution: *Écrire, parler, à quelqu'un*. *Gloire à Dieu*. *Mort aux traîtres*.

(2) Possession: *Ceci est à moi* (this is mine). *Il a une maison à lui* (he has a house of his own).

These two relations could, as we have seen in Old French (Book III, p. 400), be denoted by the objective case: *Ne placet damno Dieu* (may it not please the Lord God) (Rol. l. 358). *L'enseigne Carlo* (Charles's ensign) (id. l. 1179). But at a very early period they were denoted by the preposition *à*. However, when the sense requires that the noun denoting the thing or person possessed should be

immediately followed by the mention of the possessor, *à* is now replaced by *de*: *le fils du roi*. It is only in popular modern speech that we still have, as in Old French: *La barque à Charon, la fille à Nicholas* (*Charon's boat, Nicholas' daughter*).

### V. Material Destination.

(1) With motion or union: *Mettre les bœufs à la charrue* (to put the oxen to the plough). *Ajouter une chose à une autre* (to add one thing to another). *Allier la modestie au mérite* (to unite modesty to merit).

(2) With a sense of concomitance: *Un char à bancs* (= a car with benches). *Une canne à épée* (a sword-cane). In this use, by extension, *à* comes to mean *avec* (with), and as this latter preposition not only expresses concomitance, but also both the instrument and the means, *à* has come to indicate both the instrument and the mode of action.

A. Instrument: O.F. *à glaive, à ciselé, à pois et mesure*.

*Vous marcherez vers Rome à communes enseignes.* (Corn. vi. 377.)

(You will march towards Rome under the same standards.)

*Le marchand à sa peau devoit faire fortune.* (La Font. i. 427.)

(With his skin the merchant's fortune would be made.)

In Old French we also have *à* used in this sense with abstract nouns: *à deuil, à force, à peine, à conseil*. We still say: *À force de soins* (by force of care), *il a été guéri*. Hence by a new extension *à* came to denote the inherent characteristic or quality, either of an individual or an object: *Berte aux grands pieds* (*Bertha Greatfoot*). *Bottines à lacets* (lace-up boots).

B. Mode or modality<sup>1</sup> of the action: *Aller à cheval. Se sauver à la nage. Acheter à crédit. Vêtement à la dernière mode. Un moulin à vent. Un fusil à aiguille. Une machine à vapeur*. Old French used: *à guise, à secret*, now replaced by *en guise, en secret*. *À* in this sense must be rendered in various ways. (*To go on horseback. To save*

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. the obsolete English preposition *a* in *abed*, &c.]

*oneself by swimming. To buy on credit. Dress of the latest fashion. Wind-mill, needle-gun, steam-engine.)*

With this usage were connected the expressions, so numerous in Old French, formed by *à* and diminutives in *-ons*, which only exist in this connexion: *à genoillons* (*on one's knees*), *à cropetons* (*crouching*), *à chevauchons* (*astride*), &c., and of which *à [cali]fourchons*, *à reculons*, *à tâtons*, have survived (cf. Book II, p. 378).

Such are the principal uses now presented by the preposition *à*. We have only omitted one important use, because it is not a natural development of the preceding uses, but only the result of a confusion which arose in the 16th century. At that period the contracted forms of preposition + article, *ou*, *es*, for *en le*, *en les* (*in or into the*), became obsolete, and were replaced either by *dans le*, *dans les*, or, owing to similarity of sound, by forms almost homonymous with *ou* and *es*, namely *au* and *aux*, the compounds of *à*: *Se mettre au lit* = O. F. *Se mettre ou (into the) lit*. *Les étoiles brillent au ciel* = O. F. . . . *ou (in the) ciel*. *Être aux fers* = O. F. *Être es (in the) fers*.

463. **AVEC.**—*Avec* is etymologically an adverb; in fact it is formed from *av* (found in the *Oaths of Strasburg* in the form *ad*: *Ad Ludher nul plaïd avrai*, &c. = *I will have no agreement with Lothair*), which came from the Latin *apud*, and the neuter demonstrative *hoo* (*this, it*). *Avec* then signifies properly *with this*, or *by this*.

This adverbial use, which is primitive, is to be found in every period of the language.

*Ensalant Franc e l'empereur avec.* (Rol. l. 3626.)

(The Franks give chase, and the emperor with [*i.e.* also].)

*Ne diroit on pas . . . à moi avec peut estre, de m'en taire ?*  
(*would they not say to me also to be silent upon it ?*) (Mont. i. 56).

*Il avait dans la terre une somme enfouie,*

*Son cœur avec.*

(La Font. l. 345.)

(He had buried a sum of money in the earth,

His heart therewith.)



It is still so employed in familiar speech. But from the earliest times *avec* has taken, by extension, the function of a preposition. In Old French it expressed the concomitance of two persons: *Être avec quelqu'un* (to be with some one). Then along with the obsolescence of an old preposition *od* or *o*, which had all the present significations of *avec*, and which also came from the Latin *apud*, the preposition *avec* took its place and expressed the concomitance of objects: *Prendre ceci avec cela* (to take this with that); and hence the mode, the instrument, or material used: *Parler avec courage* (to speak with courage). *Agir avec prudence*. *Frapper avec un bâton* (to strike with a stick). *On obtient tout avec de l'argent*. *Bâtir avec du fer* (to build with iron). *Carreler avec de la brique* (to pave with bricks). *Déjeuner avec du café* (to breakfast on coffee). We must note the peculiar use of *avec* after *de* (for separation or distinction) with the verbs *connaître*, *distinguer*, *séparer*, *sortir*, &c.

*A connaître un pourpoint d'avec un haut-de-chausse.* (Mol. ix. 107.)  
(To know a doublet from a pair of breeches.)

Originally *avec* took an adverbial *s*, and, the group *avec*s being rather harsh, a euphonic *e* was interpolated between the *c* and *s*, so that it was written *aveques*, *avecques*, *avekes*: the simple form *avec* and the lengthened form *avecques* co-existing. These two forms were preserved until well into the 17th century. We find the form *avecque* without the *s* at this time, before words beginning with a consonant, because the *s*, no longer heard, had dropped in pronunciation. It also occurred before words beginning with a vowel; but then, the silent *e* being elided, the form became identical in pronunciation with *avec*. In the second half of the 17th century *avecques* is hardly ever used, save in poetry, to gain an additional syllable in the line. It disappears entirely in the 18th century.

464. **AVANT (DEVANT, &c.).**—*Avant* comes from the

Popular Latin *avanta*, formed by *av* (*ab*) and *anta*. *Ante* itself has been preserved in *antan* (*antè annum* = *last year*): *Les neiges d'antan*. It had derivatives *ains*, *ainçois*, or *ançois*, which have dropped out of the modern language.

*Avant* is either an adverb or a preposition. In Old French it is nearly always an adverb, expressing a relation of priority in space: *aller avant*. A reminiscence of this use is preserved in the modern *aller*, *pénétrer plus avant* (*to go, penetrate further*).

*Avant*, as a preposition, is almost unknown in Old French. In Middle French it seems to take more and more development, expressing priority in both space and time: *Il marchait avant moi*. *Avant-hier*.

... *Avant ce jour fini, ces mains, ces propres mains  
Laveront dans son sang la honte des Romains.* (Corn. iii. 327.)

(Before this day's end my hands, my own hands,  
Shall wash the shame of the Romans in his blood.)

From the 16th century the employment of *avant* was extended to the detriment of *devant*, which it gradually replaced in the expression of priority of time.

*Avant* was used until the 17th century before the simple infinitive: *Avant répondre par l'oracle* (*before replying by the oracle*) (Rab. ii. 212). *Ma tante avoit payé les dettes de son fils avant mourir* (*my aunt had paid her son's debts before dying*) (Sév. viii. 7). However, in the 17th century the infinitive is oftener found preceded by *que* or especially by *que de*:

... *Avant que partir, je me ferai justice.* (Rac. iii. 66.)  
(Before departing I will do myself justice.)

*Né verrez-vous point Phèdre avant que de partir?* (id. iii. 312.)  
(Will you not see Phædra before leaving?)

In the present usage we rarely find any form other than *avant de*, which only dates from the 18th century. But certain writers, by affectation, and the people, still say: *avant que de faire* (*before doing*).

*Avant* combines with other prepositions : *en avant*, *par avant* (whence *auparavant*), *de avant*, *d'avant*, *devant*.

In Old French, as in the Modern language, *devant* was both a preposition and an adverb ; but its use was more extended, expressing not only (1) a relation of space, as at present (*before = in front of*) : *devant quelqu'un, se tenir devant quelqu'un, se tenir devant* ; but also (2) a relation of time ; thus as late as the 17th century we find : *Seroit-il possible que devant moi tu n'eusses jamais vu d'autres exemples de mortalité ?* (*can it be possible that before me you never saw any other examples of mortality ?*) (Malh. i. 359).

*Ses flots . . . . .*

*Sont trouvés de ceux qui les boivent*

*Aussi peu salés que devant.* (id. i. 114.)

(*Its waves . . . . .*

*Were found by those who drank them*

*As little salt as before.*)

*Encor que vous parties beaucoup devant le jour.* (Corn. ii. 281.)

(*Even though you start long before daylight.*)

*Elle [Votre Majesté] me permettra de lui dire que devant Elle on n'a point vu de roi qui . . .* (*Your Majesty will allow me to say that, before you, never king was seen who . . .*) (Rac. i. 514). *Devant le jugement du procès* (*before the judgement of the case*) (Sév. i. 478).

Moreover, *devant* could be followed by either a simple infinitive or an infinitive preceded by *que* or *que de*, and also by *que* with a subordinate proposition : *Davant boire* (*before drinking*) (Rab. i. 100). *Devant que passer plus outre* (*before passing any further*) (Malh. ii. 7). *J'ai reçu votre lettre . . . un moment devant que de monter en bateau* (*I received your letter a moment before going on board the boat*) (Sév. iv. 131). *Devant que la philosophie vous eût fortifié* (*before philosophy had fortified you*) (Malh. ii. 305). *Ils partiront tous devant qu'il soit six jours* (*they will all leave before six days [are over]*) (Sév. ii. 340).

Finally, *devant* was used figuratively : *Je mettrai désor-*

*mais ma santé et mes promenades devant toutes choses* (*I will henceforth put my health and my walks before everything*) (Sév. iv. 394). [Here *avant* would now be used.]

We see that *devant* has been replaced in many of its uses by *avant*. The following are the relations between these two prepositions in the present language.

*Avant*, as an adverb, has preserved its primitive sense of *forward*: *Aller avant, plus avant*. As a preposition it indicates (a) priority of place: *placer le premier volume avant le deuxième*; (b) priority of time: *arriver avant les autres, avant le lever du soleil*; (c) priority of rank: *placer une chose avant une autre*, both in the literal and figurative sense.

*Devant* signifies *before*, in the sense of *in front of*, with the idea of rest or motion: *Planter un arbre devant la maison. Fuir devant quelqu'un*. And figuratively: *Les hommes sont égaux devant Dieu*.

465. **CONTRE**.—At the present day *contre* denotes (1) proximity (*next*): *maison située contre un jardin*; (2) opposition (*against*): *il marcha contre l'ennemi*; or (3) exchange (*against, for*): *échanger un mobilier contre un autre* (*to change one suite of furniture for another*). We may also note certain meanings of this preposition now lost. In the Old language this preposition could also denote direction pure and simple (*towards*): *armes qui resplendissent contre le soleil* (*arms glistening in the sun*); proximity of time: *contre la Pâque* (*at Easter time*).

466. **DE**.—The preposition *de* has a host of uses which may be classified as follows:

- I. *De* points out a relation of removal in place, in time, and figuratively.
- II. It is partitive.
- III. It is equivalent to *touchant* (*concerning, about, with respect to, on*).
- IV. It is used to connect the terms of a proposition.

V. It introduces the complement of an adjective.

VI. It is used as a sign of apposition.

I. *De* denotes removal. This preposition, which comes from the Latin *de* (*of, from*), expresses first, like the Latin, removal from a starting-point: *descendre de la montagne*; *sortir de la ville*; *errer de lieu en lieu*. A special use of *de* exists in names to denote origin: *Blancandrin del Castel de Val Fonde* (*Rol.*); *Gérard de Roussillon* (*Gerard who is from Roussillon*); *le prince de Bourbon*; *le duc de Richelieu*. Thus was formed the aristocratic particle *de*.

It also denotes removal in time: *de ce jour*; *d'aujourd'hui en huit* (*from this day week*); *ceci date de trois semaines* (*this dates from three weeks back*); *se lever de bonne heure* (*to get up early*)<sup>1</sup>; *partir de grand matin* (*to start in the early morning*). This has led by analogy to: *Il n'a rien fait de toute la journée* (*he has done nothing all day*).

The figurative sense corresponding to that of motion from is found in: *tenir, recevoir, apprendre quelque chose de* (*from*) *quelqu'un*; *de la part du roi*; *priver, dépouiller, délivrer, préserver, acquitter, absoudre quelqu'un de* (*from or of*) *quelque chose*; *né de* (*of*) *parents pauvres*; *acablé de tout le monde* (*abandoned of all the world*); *être loué, aimé de quelqu'un* (*to be praised, loved of or by any one*).

In another figurative sense *de* denotes the place from which the action starts: *prêcher de la chaire*; *parler de la tribune*; *une montagne d'où l'on contemple l'horizon*.

By extension, *de* comes to indicate (a) the instrument: *écrire de* (*with*) *la main droite*; (b) the means: *payer de* (*with*) *son argent*; *s'enivrer de* (*with*) *vin*; (c) the substance: *vase de* (*of*) *bois*; *colonne de* (*of*) *marbre*; or (d) the cause: *heureux d'une* (*because of, at*) *nouvelle*. Hence the locution *de ce que*, which was in common use down to the 17th century as an equivalent of *parce que* (*because, that, for that, inasmuch as*): *Elle avoit été bien fâchée de la peine que j'avois soufferte,*

<sup>1</sup> [*Cf. to be up from six in the morning.*]

*et bien aise de ce qu'elle étoit finie* (she had been very sorry for the trouble I had suffered, and very glad that it was over) (La Rochef. iii. 18). *Je pleure de ce que cet enfant n'est pas en état de vous suivre comme les autres* (I weep that this child is not able to follow you like the others) (Rac. v. 147). [Il] *se plaint de celui qui a écrit ou parlé pour lui, de ce qu'il n'a pas touché les meilleurs moyens de sa cause* (he complains of the man who has written or spoken for him, that he has not touched the very best grounds of his case) (La Bruy. i. 68).

*De* also indicates manner: *Aimer Dieu de tout son cœur, de toutes ses forces* (to love God with all one's heart, one's might).

In all these extensions pointing out the instrument, means, matter, cause, or manner, the primitive idea of the place from which the action starts may easily be traced.

*De* also shows the part or aspect in which the attribute applies to the subject: *petit de taille* (small of stature), *sain de corps* (healthy of or in body), *habile de ses doigts* (dext of finger). Hence the use of *de* with the comparative in Old French: *Plus savant de Pierre* (§ 374).

II. *De partitive*. A special case of the preceding uses has received a peculiar development in French, where *de* has a partitive sense<sup>1</sup>: *un de nos amis*; *peu de choses*; *trop d'efforts*; *assez de bien*; *beaucoup de mal*; *peu, point, pas d'argent*; after verbs: *boire de l'eau, manger du pain* (meaning to drink *part* of the water, &c.); with a substantive unaccompanied by an article: *ce sont de bonnes gens, d'aucuns prétendent, de certaines gens affirment* (see § 388).

Another use of the partitive leads up to the possessive or subjective genitive: *enlever les cheveux de la tête*. Here *de* expresses removal from a place, hence by extension we have in Old French: *les yeux du chef lui fait crever* (he has the eyes put out of his head), *trésor de froment* (treasure of wheat, i. e. arising from it), *grand bien est de paix* (great weal is from

<sup>1</sup> [The English *of* also has this partitive sense; but in many idioms, e.g. *peu d'argent* = little money, the *de* is not translatable.] —

*peace*), whence, by a new extension, *de* comes to mean *of* (possessive): *les joies, les plaisirs de (of) la paix*; and at the end of the Middle Ages, where the complement is the name of a person: *le livre de Pierre* (§ 462, IV, 2, p. 792). Thus was gradually constituted the possessive genitive where the second term is the possessor of the first term. It arose in the early times of the language, from the *de* partitive, as the genitive of a noun denoting an object; it was developed in the 14th century, by analogy, as the genitive of a noun denoting a person.

III. *De as an equivalent to touchant (concerning, about, with respect to, for, on)*. This use, which was very frequent in Latin; is still more extended in French: *parler, deviser, discourir d'une chose, avoir pitié, peur de quelqu'un; j'ai regret de lui, j'ai regret de sa mort*; and in titles of books, &c.: *De la Vieillesse (= De Senectute)*. A natural extension led to the formation of the objective genitive: *avoir l'ennui de vivre (to have weariness of life), la crainte du mal (fear of evil), l'amour de Dieu (love of [= for] God)*. Thus the objective genitive arose from the use of the preposition *de*, in the sense of *concerning*, whilst the subjective genitive arose from the use of *de* in the partitive sense. In this way the Latin genitive case, which had both the subjective and objective meanings, having disappeared from the Popular language at the end of the Empire, was replaced by two new developments in the use of the preposition *de*.

IV. *De connecting the terms of a proposition*. We have seen under the syntax of the infinitive (§ 450, p. 743) how *il est honteux de mentir* was derived from *c'est honte de mensonge*. This latter phrase also gave rise to: *Qu'est-ce de nous? (what is there of us? what are we?)*, used by Bossuet, and, by intercalation of the relative pronoun: *Qu'est-ce que de nous? (= Quoi est de nous?)*.

V. *De (= of) introducing the complement of certain adjectives*. In this French has followed and extended the

Latin tradition and uses the following: *désireux, avide, jaloux, heureux, triste, capable, &c., d'une chose*. By analogy and extension substantives and pronouns are used in certain phrases in the place of these adjectives, e.g.: *un homme de sens; un homme de grand talent* (a man of sense, of great talent). *Nul n'est de la force de cet homme* (there is no one of this man's strength).

VI. *De* denoting apposition. Latin used *Urbs Roma* (the city Rome), putting both words in the same case. However, we also find the expression *Urbs Romae*, with the genitive, a construction which became more and more frequent towards the end of the Empire, and triumphed in the Romance languages. In Old French may be found examples of simple apposition, such as *le fleuve Jourdain*, and even at the present time, where the determinant precedes: *Paris la grand ville*; but the construction with *de* is usual: *le pays de France, la ville de Paris, le titre de roi, le nom de père, le mois de janvier, le jeu de billard*. The use of *de* is indispensable with names of towns; the use is doubtful with regard to mountains and rivers; but *de* is necessary with substantives signifying name, word, class, &c.: *the name John = le nom de Jean*. *De* is also necessary when the governing word expresses a quality: *ce monstre d'homme; cette coquine de toilette; un drôle de corps; une drôle de personne*. It may be noted that here *drôle* is the substantive and not the adjective, otherwise we should say *une drôlesse de personne*.

Middle French, again, used *de* after titles such as *Monseigneur, Monsieur, Madame*: *Monseigneur du Pape, La dame de sa mère*. Also in La Fontaine: *Monsieur du Corbeau*.

Lastly, we may note that *de* enters into many adverbial locutions in which the second term is (a) a noun: *derechef* (a second time), *de nouveau, de raison, du tout, &c.*, or (b) an adverb: *de près, de loin, dessus, dessous*.

To sum up, French has extended the signification of the



Latin *de* for the purpose of denoting the Latin genitive and replacing the Latin prepositions *ex* and *ab*, which had disappeared.

487. **EN.**—*En* comes from the Latin *in*, which signified (1) *within* or *inside*, and (2) *on the surface* [of an object]. Both these meanings were continued in Old French, which used not only *être, aller en prison*, but *s'asseoir en cheval* (to sit on horseback). The last meaning has disappeared from the Modern language, in which, however, a few traces may yet be found: *Jésus est mort en croix* (on the cross). *Portrait en pied* (on-foot portrait, i. e. full-length). *Casque en tête* ([with] helmet on the head), &c. In these expressions this old meaning of *en* is no longer generally understood. In all other cases *en* in the sense of 'on' has been replaced by *sur, dessus*, &c. The meanings of *within, into*, have alone been preserved, and even so the use of *en* in these senses is more restricted than that of *in* in Latin.

I. The Latin preposition *in* served to denote both *rest in a place* (*in*) and *direction towards the inside of a place* (*into*), the object being put in the ablative or accusative respectively. The disappearance of the cases led to the loss of this distinction. It follows that the French *en* expresses either (1) situation *in* a place: *être en prison, tenir une chose en sa main*; or (2) motion *into* a place: *errer de lieu en lieu, de ville en ville, mettre en prison, porter en terre* (to inter). Before names of towns *en* has been replaced by *à*, apparently from a desire to distinguish names of towns from names of countries: *à Paris, en France*<sup>1</sup>. This distinction was not quite established in the 17th century: *en Lacédémone* (Malh. ii. 136); *en Avignon* (iv. 111); *en Alger* (Corn. iv. 235); *en Argos* (Rac. iii. 155). However,

<sup>1</sup> This applies only to feminine names of countries (which include those in most frequent use). *À*, used in the Old language as an alternative for *en* before all names of countries, survives before those that are masculine. We say *aller au* (or *dans le*) *Turkistan* (see p. 790).

it may be added that in the 17th century (as Ménage remarks) the use of *en* before names of towns hardly survived, except when these names began with a vowel.

II. The relation of *situation in space* has been extended to *time*: *en ce temps, en tout temps; en été, en hiver; c'était en janvier, en plein jour*: here the construction corresponds to the simple Latin ablative of time. The preposition *en* may also express *direction forward in time*: *d'ores en avant* (*henceforward*), *d'aujourd'hui en huit* (*from this day week*); *de semaine en semaine* (*from week to week*). The Old language also used *en* indifferently to indicate either the *period of time after which* an action begins, or the *period of duration* of an action: *faire une chose en huit jours* might mean (1) *at the end of eight days* (where the objective represents an accusative denoting the period after which the action begins); or (2) *to do it in eight days* (where the objective represents an ablative denoting the period during which the action is done<sup>1</sup>). In Modern French the distinction is made by using the modern preposition *dans* in the first sense: *faire une chose dans huit jours* = to do a thing at the end of a week; *en huit jours* = to take a week doing it.

III. In a figurative sense the preposition *en* expresses a number of relations denoting either a situation (*in*) or a direction (*into*): *se mettre, être en colère; avoir, mettre en son pouvoir; être en prière, en adoration, en honneur, en grâce, en faveur; être en pleurs; mettre en gage; donner en otage; dépenser en aumônes; en considération de, en haine de, en l'honneur de, en guise de, en sorte que* (*in such wise, so that*); *mettre en deux, en trois; couper en morceaux, tailler en pointe, poème en quatre chants, pièce en trois actes, en forme de; changer une chose en une autre; traduire en plusieurs langues; écrire en latin; jouer en artiste; agir en roi*; after an adjective: *riche en livres, fertile en blé; fécond en ressources; sage en paroles*. We note that in most

<sup>1</sup> [The English *to do a thing in a week* is equally ambiguous.]

cases the substantive has no article, which always indicates a very ancient construction.

We must also note the use of *en* followed by the gerund : *en chantant, l'appétit vient en mangeant* (to indicate duration or agency) (§ 457, I, p. 768).

IV. We know (Book II, § 199, 4) that *en* was contracted with the article into *el, ou, and es*. These compound articles began to disappear in the second half of the 16th century, and only occur here and there in the 17th, when the language had to replace them, having recourse in many cases to the article compounded with *à, au* taking the place of *ou*, and *aux* of *es*. When *ou* disappeared the old forms *en mon nom et el sien, en mon nom et ou sien*, were replaced by *en mon nom et au sien*. Under the preposition *à* (p. 794) we saw that a similar explanation applies to such expressions as *se mettre au lit, être aux fers*. This usage is very frequent in the 17th century, and in many cases the preposition *à* may be found used as an equivalent for *dans*, even when there is no contraction of the article.

French also substituted *dans le* and *dans les* for *ou* and *es* (as will be seen under the preposition *dans*, § 468). This substitution had the following consequence : *en*, being no longer followed by the article, assumed a more and more general and indeterminate value. In fact *en* was thenceforth used only in locutions having a comprehensive sense, as shown in the above examples : *en grâce, en faveur, &c.* The substantive governed by *en* is only determined (1) when it is in the feminine (Book II, p. 300) : *en la circonstance* ; or (2) when the article is elided : *en l'état* ; or (3) when the determinant is a pronominal adjective : *en mon nom, en ce jour* ; but the last cases are exceptional, and the preposition *en* has now scarcely more than an archaic and, so to speak, consecrated use before proper names of countries and certain common nouns. At the present day the former uses of *en* before a determinate noun, other than those quoted, have been transferred to *dans*.

**468. ENZ (DANS, DEDANS).** *Enz*, from the Latin *intus* (*inside, within*), was chiefly used as an adverb, more rarely as a preposition. As a preposition apparently too weak in sound, and hence in expression, to be used alone, it was prefixed to *en*, and became, as *enz en*, the emphatic form of *en*: *Enz enl fou la gièttèrent* (*into the fire they cast her*) (*Eulalie*, 19). *Enz en lor mains portent branches d'olives* (*in their hands they carry olive branches*) (*Rol.* l. 93). *Enz* as an adverb was much used in the Middle Ages; it survived down to the 16th century, was then replaced by *dedans*, but has only been preserved in combination with *çà* and *là* in the somewhat obsolete adverbs *céans, léans* (*herein, therein*). *Enz* was also combined with the preposition *de* to form *dens*, and hence *dans*, and by reduplication *dedens, dedans*. It is strange that *dans* was scarcely used in the Middle Ages, while *dedans* occurs constantly, and down to the 17th century, as both adverb and preposition. But in the 16th century the disappearance of *ou* and *es* was the opportunity of *dans*. It was first used before *le* or *les*, *dans le, dans les*, replacing *ou* and *es*. This determinate use with the article gave *dans* an increasing sense of precision, while that of *en* became more general. It was in the second half of the 16th century and during the course of the 17th that the revolution occurred restricting the use of *en* in favour of *dans*, and restricting that of *dedans* at the same time. *Dans* being a preposition only, and *dedans* both adverb and preposition, the prepositional use of *dedans* became useless. Such was the opinion of Vaugelas and all the grammarians; and the use of *dedans* as a preposition disappeared altogether in the latter half of the 17th century.

**469. FORS or HORS.** From the Latin *foris* (*out of doors*), *fors* was first derived, and then *hors*, which definitely replaced *fors* in the 17th century.

1. *Fors* and *hors* were adverbs: *Sortir hors* (*to go out*). *Hors* is now hardly ever used in the adverbial sense, except when preceded by the preposition *de*: *sortir de hors*.

II. They were also prepositions : (a) used alone : *il se jeta hors la ville*; and (b) with the preposition *de* : *il se jeta hors de la ville*. Figuratively we still say : *être hors la loi* (to be an outlaw), *être hors de soi* (to be out of one's mind). In these locutions *hors* has its etymological sense. But in the beginning of the language a curious extension occurred : in the sentence *Ils ont été récompensés hors lui* (that is *lui hors*), *lui* was used absolutely as the subject of *hors*, which is an adverb (*he being outside*). By mistaking the construction, *hors* was taken for a preposition with *lui* for its object, and consequently *hors* became the synonym of *excepté* : *Tout est perdu fors l'honneur* (all is lost save honour). *Ils ont été récompensés hors lui* (except him). It was in this way that the compound *hormis*, as well as the simple participle *pendant* and the adverb *devant*, became prepositions<sup>1</sup>. In this use *fors* could be followed by the conjunction *que* : *Me voyant grande et estimée belle d'un chacun, fors que de vous seul* (seeing me great, and thought beautiful by every one, except you alone) (*Hept.* ii. 72). *Hors que* may also have its proper force as a conjunctive locution : *Il l'a traité aussi mal que possible, hors qu'il ne l'a pas battu* (he treated him as badly as possible, but that he did not beat him).

*Dehors*, which, as we have seen, was used as an adverb (as it is now), was also a preposition :

*J'en voyois et dehors et dedans nos murailles.* (*Rac.* i. 418.)  
(I saw them both within and without our walls.)

Like *dedans* it lost its prepositional use at the end of the 17th century.

470. OUTRE.—*Outre*, from the Latin *ultra* (beyond), was both an adverb and a preposition in Old French.

I. As an adverb it was equivalent to *au-delà* (beyond), and has only survived in the expressions *aller, passer outre*

<sup>1</sup> [Compare the English use of the absolute participles 'notwithstanding,' 'pending,' as prepositions governing their original subjects.]

(to pass over, beyond), *percer d'outre en outre* (to pierce through and through), and the locution *en outre* synonymous with *en plus* (in addition, moreover).

In Middle French the adverb *outre* was used in a great many locutions reducible to the two meanings 'beyond measure' and 'wholly': *Les Flameaux . . . vouloient plus outre* (the people of Flameaux wished to go further still) (Noël du Fail, *Prop. rust.* i. 87). Compare the words *outrecuidance* (overweening self-confidence), *outrecuidant*.

II. As a preposition it was used in its literal sense, *beyond*. *Aller outre mer. Louis d'Outre-mer. Les gens d'outremonts. Les mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.*

*Soit que le Rhône, outre ses bords  
Lui vit faire éclater sa gloire.* (Malh. i. 115.)

(Whether the Rhone beyond its banks saw him make his glory shine.)

It was also used in its etymological sense figuratively: *Se revancher outre la volonté de ceux qui nous ont obligés* (to acquit oneself beyond [i.e. against] the wishes of those who have obliged us) (Malh. ii. 132). We still say *outre mesure*, *outre nature*, *outre raison*, but these are archaisms, for *outre* as a preposition is scarcely used save as an equivalent of *en surplus de* (in excess of, besides): *outre le rapport que nous avons constaté; outre ce que je vous ai dit*; whence the conjunctive locution: *outre qu'il a mal agi* (besides his having acted badly).

471. PAR.—*Par* comes from the Latin *per*.

I. This preposition signified first *through* (or *across*), in both space and time: *Aller par mer et par eau. Par monts et par vaux. Courir par le monde. Voyager partout. Jeter par la fenêtre. Donner un coup de fouet par* (across) *le visage. Par un beau temps, par la pluie. Gagner tant par jour.*

II. It expresses the *intermediary* whereby a thing is done (Eng. *through, by*): *Ces choses ont été accomplies par*

*des agents intelligents. Agir par soi-même.* Hence the use of *par* to indicate the instrument, the means (Eng. *by*): *Prendre par la main, le cou. Assurer par serment. Jurer par Dieu, par les saints. Par ma barbe!* &c.

*Par* also expresses the cause: *Agir par envie, par désir, par colère. Je conclus par ce que je vois que . . .* Especially with the infinitive: *Par nos passages paier* (by paying our passages) (Villeh. 59). *Ce ne feut accepté par ne sembler equitable* (this was not accepted, through not seeming just) (Rab. i. 184).

*Mais ne confondons point, par trop approfondir  
Leurs affaires avec les vôtres.* (La Font. i. 252.)

(But let us not confuse, by going too deep,  
Their affairs and your own.)

This is an antiquated use, which has only been preserved with the verbs *commencer* and *finir*: *Il a commencé par déclarer; il finira bien par avouer* (§ 450).

III. *Per* in Latin was used as an inseparable prefix to adjectives to express the superlative absolute, and this formed an important use of *par* in Old French, where, however, it was isolated as a separate adverb: *Par est bon* = *he is very good*, Lat. *perbonus est*. Generally *par* was accompanied by another adverb, *assez*, *mout*, *trop*, and meant *much too*: *Assez par fut long. Mout par fut bon. Trop par fut bon*. This construction has disappeared, save in the locution which is no longer understood: *C'est par trop fort* (it is really too bad!).

IV. *Par* was combined with many adverbs and prepositions: *par avant* (surviving in *auparavant*), *par devant*, *par après* (obs.), *par devers*. From the use of *par* in the causal sense was derived the locution *parce que*, which in Modern French has replaced *pour ce que*. *Parce que* formerly indicated the motive or antecedent cause, *pour ce que* the end in view: *Pourquoi êtes-vous en retard?*—that

is, for what cause? Answer: *Parce que je me suis égaré. Pourquoi faites-vous cela?*—that is, for what purpose? Answer: *Parce que je veux m'amuser.* In the last sentence *parce que* replaces the obsolete *pour ce que*. Under *pour* we shall study this signification and the two senses of *pourquoi*.

The classification of the meanings of *par* is especially difficult, because they go directly back to the several Latin meanings of *par*, some of which no longer exist in French; hence the French meanings appear isolated from each other, unless we trace them back to the Latin.

**472. POUR.**—*Pour*, O. F. *por*, comes from the Popular Latin *por*, which is the Classical Latin *pro*.

I. *Pro* signified literally 'in front of, before': *pro rostris*, 'before the platform.' Hence figuratively: *dimicare pro patria* ('to fight in front of the fatherland, to protect it'), whence *combattre pour (for) la patrie*. The material sense having disappeared in French, *pour* has only the abstract function, and, denoting only an abstract relationship, has become a true *preposition*. The idea of protection arising from that of situation, in the sense *in front of*, naturally led up to the meaning *in favour of* [as with the English *for*]: *combattre pour son pays, trembler pour quelqu'un, être pour ou contre une proposition*, whence: *plaider pour et contre; l'amour d'une mère pour ses enfants*. By analogy we have: *la haine qu'il a pour lui. C'est une grande perte pour nous. Remède bon pour la fièvre* (a remedy good for fever). *C'est pour son malheur qu'il est parti*.

II. By extension, *pour* has come to indicate *destination* or *motive* (*for, in order to*): *faire de l'exercice pour sa santé; être dévoué pour quelqu'un, pour quelque chose; pour l'amour de Dieu*; and especially with an infinitive: *faire une chose pour s'amuser, travailler pour réussir*. In this



use *pour* was often separated from the infinitive, even as late as the 17th century :

*Pour de ce grand dessein assurer le succès.* (Corn. iv. 76.)

(To assure the success of this great design.)

*Il . . . parle le premier pour, en découvrant les oppositions . . . , prendre ses mesures et avoir la réplique* (he speaks first, in order, by discovering the counter-arguments . . . , to take his measures [accordingly] and have the reply (La Bruy. i. 374). Vaugelas protests against this construction and allows only one or two syllables between *pour* and the infinitive : *pour y aller, pour de là passer en Italie* ; and this is the modern use. *Pour*, instead of an infinitive, may be followed by a subjunctive proposition with a finite verb. In this case the Old language used *pour ce que* (compare *de ce que, parce que*, §§ 466, I., and 471) ; then, from the Middle Ages, the *ce* was sometimes dropped, and hence arose *pour que*. *J'envoie de l'argent pour qu'il vienne* (I send money for him to come). This locution was gradually extended and definitely triumphed, despite the protests of grammarians towards the end of the 17th century.

We may further note certain peculiar locutions, several of which are antiquated, in which *pour* also indicates destination : *Cela n'est pas fait pour vous plaire* (the fact is not one to please you). *Il n'est pas pour se laisser maltraiter* (he is not a man to stand being illtreated). *Il y a ici pour contenter tous les goûts* (we have here wherewithal to satisfy every taste). *L'affaire n'est pas pour en demeurer là<sup>1</sup>* (the affair is not going to end there). *Il a fait assez pour sa gloire, pour réussir, pour qu'il réussisse* (he has done enough for his glory, to succeed). *C'est pour mourir d'ennui* (it's enough to kill you with weariness). *Commencer pour finir* (to make a beginning in order to get done). *Il est fort chagrin pour s'amuser* (arch.) (he is too sad to amuse himself). *Il est trop faible pour*

<sup>1</sup> [This seems a case comparable to '*il fut pour partir*' (he was about to start), where the locution has the function of a true active future participle (§ 450).]

*supporter cette charge* (he is too weak to bear this burden). Another use of *pour* relating to destination is that indicated in the expressions: *partir pour* (for) *Paris*, *pour l'Amérique*, *expédition* (dispatch [of goods]) *pour tous pays*.

III. *Pour* also means *for*, in the sense of *instead of*, *in the place of*; this use is not connected with the preceding, but directly taken from the Latin: *Faire une chose pour une autre*. *Acheter, vendre, pour six francs*. *Œil pour œil, dent pour dent*. *Traduire mot pour mot*. *Tenir quelqu'un pour ami*. *Choisir pour roi*. *Prendre pour femme*. From this arose a new meaning, and a very important one, much used in the Old language, that of *because of*:

*Tuit s'enfrent por* (pour) *la pluie*. (*Rom. de la Rose*, l. 6521.)  
(All took flight because of the rain.)

*Il pleure pour la souffrance qu'il endure*. We still say: *C'est pour cela qu'il pleure, c'est pourquoi il pleure*. In the Old language *pour ce que* was also used, followed by the indicative: *Por ce que cil pardons fut issi (ainsi) granz, si s'en esmurent mult li cuer des gens; et mult s'en croisierent por ce que li pardons ert si granz* (because this indulgence was so great, the hearts of the people were much moved; and many took the Cross [as Crusaders] because the indulgence was so great) (*Villeh. 2*). *Pour ce que*, in this sense, disappeared in the 17th century before *par ce que*, which has since then expressed, not only the instrument or antecedent cause, but the purpose also (§ 471, IV).

We have seen (p. 748) that in the present language *pour*, expressing cause, instead of being used, as in the Old language, with the present infinitive, is only used before the perfect infinitive: *Il a été puni pour avoir dérobé* [where in English we say, *he has been punished for stealing*]. We must, however, consider what takes place in negative or restrictive phrases. In the Old language we have: *Il se promène pour le plaisir qu'il y trouve* (he walks about for the pleasure he finds therein); and hence: *Il ne se promène pas*

*pour le plaisir qu'il y trouverait* (he does not walk about, despite the pleasure he would find therein). Here *pour* comes to express the same idea as *malgré* (despite). Hence the following expressions: *Ils ne se lassoient jamais, pour quelque travail qu'ils prissent* (they never grew weary, in spite of whatever labour they undertook) (Amyot, *Thésée*, 2). *Pour peu que vous fassiez, vous réussirez* (despite the little you do, you will succeed). And, the real construction being forgotten, this led to *pour peu que vous fassiez cela*, where the pronoun *cela* was superfluous, since *pour peu* signified *pour le peu*; here *pour peu* may be rendered by 'provided.' *Pour*, in the sense of *despite*, or *in spite of*, although the construction is antiquated, may still be followed by the present infinitive, as in the 17th century:

*Un roi n'est pas moins roi pour se laisser charmer.* (Corn. vi. 43.)  
(A king is no less a king for submitting to charms.)

*Ah! pour être dévot je n'en suis pas moins homme.* (Mol. iv. 466.)  
(For [= in spite of] being saintly I'm no less a man.)

IV. *Pour* also signifies *for = in relation to, in respect of*, a meaning derived from Latin: *Cet habit est bien chaud pour la saison. Argent placé à cinq pour cent.* This has led to an extension in: *Pour ma part, voici ce que je pense* (for my part, this is what I think). *Pour moi, c'est autre chose* (as for me, it's another thing).

V. *Pour* was used, and is still used, to denote a relation of time. In the Old language it could be used to indicate the past, and we still say: *pour lors* (for the time being [referring to the past]). *La cérémonie était pour hier* (the ceremony was [fixed] for yesterday). It is now hardly used, except with reference to either the present: *C'est pour maintenant*; or the future: *Je n'en ai que pour un moment* (I've only for one moment more). *Ce sera pour ce soir. C'est pour toujours, pour quand vous voudrez.*

473. **PUIS (DEPUIS).** — *Puis*, from the Latin *post* (behind, after, since), was originally both a preposition and

an adverb. The meanings relating to space did not enter the French language from Latin, being replaced by (*ar*)rière and *après* (see (2), p. 816). As a preposition *puis* has been replaced by *depuis*, save in the old locution *puis ce que*, abbreviated into *puisque*, which originally meant *after that*, but now has only the figurative sense of *given the condition that, since*: *Puisqu'il en est ainsi* (*since such is the case*).

*Depuis* was seldom used as a preposition in Old French, except in *depuis ce que*, abbreviated into *depuis que*. It was only from the 16th century that its prepositional use was developed at the expense of *puis*. We have seen (§ 450) that down to the 16th century it could be followed by a perfect infinitive.

As an adverb of time, and a preposition of time (and, in Mod. F., of place), *depuis* has been used in two senses:

(1) To mark an epoch separated by an interval from a previous epoch referred to: (i) As adverb: *Il souffroit la même passion . . . que Themistocles longtemps depuis souffrit* (*he suffered the same passion as Themistocles suffered long after*) (Amyot, *Thésée*, 2). In this sense *depuis* cannot now be preceded by a qualifying adverb (e.g. *longtemps*). (ii) As preposition: *Depuis la mort d' . . . Egeus, il entreprit une chose* (*after the death of Aegeus he undertook a thing*) (Amyot, *Thésée*, 6). This use is obsolete.

(2) In the present language, to mark an interval of time or place, starting from a limit referred to: (i) As adverb: *La nuit fut mauvaise, mais depuis il alla mieux* (*he had a bad night, but afterwards improved*). (ii) As preposition: *Depuis hier il va mieux* (*since yesterday he has been better*). *Depuis les Alpes jusqu'à l'Océan* (*from the Alps to the Ocean*).

474. **PRÈS (PRESQUE, APRÈS)**, from the Popular Latin *pressum* (*nigh, near, next*), is an adverb marking (1) proximity in space: *Il demeure tout près, ici près*:

*Plus je l'estime près, plus il est éloigné.* (Corn. iii. 551.)

(The nearer I deem it, the further it is removed.)

or (2) proximity in time: *Le jour du départ est près.*

This second signification is antiquated<sup>1</sup>. In both meanings *près* enters into the prepositional phrase *près de*. *Il demeure près de l'église. Il est près de partir.* In the 16th century they preferred to make *près* a preposition and say: *Il est près l'église*, instead of *près de l'église*.

*De près* is used for both space and time, and also figuratively: *Serrer l'ennemi de près* (to press the enemy closely). *Les malheurs se suivent de près.* Figuratively and by extension *près* with a determinative expresses a deficit of distance or amount: *Il n'est pas riche à beaucoup près. À peu de chose près. Il est à peu près ruiné* (that is, he is not near being rich by a good distance; he is near ruin at a little distance). In these locutions *près* originally determined the adjectives, *riche*, *ruiné*; it now combines with the expressions *à beaucoup*, *à peu*, and other analogous terms: *Le compte est exact à cinq francs près* (the account is correct within five francs). The first construction was: *Le compte est près exact*, i.e. *près de l'exact à cinq francs de distance*, and then *près* became joined to *à cinq francs*: *à cinq francs près. Au titre près, il était roi* (save in title, he was king), was originally the equivalent of: *Il était près de la royauté, le titre s'en manquant*; and then *près* combined with *au titre*.

Hence *à peu près* comes to mean 'or a little less, more or less, about.' *L'affaire passera dans un mois à quelques jours près, en plus ou en moins* (the affair will come on in about a month, or a few days more or less). *À cela près, il a raison* (apart from that he is right). *Un peu sot; à cela près, bonhomme* (a little stupid, but apart from that a good fellow).

*Presque* (nearly) is a development of *près* as used in the expressions of the Old language: *Il est près mort. L'œuvre est près toute accomplie.* The analysis of these shows that *près* here means *nearly*, and is equivalent to the modern *presque*. A question arises as to the function of this

<sup>1</sup> [*Près* being replaced by *proche* and its derivatives.]

*que*. It is the relative pronoun. In the Old language we find as alternatives to *qu'est-ce la fièvre?* the forms *qu'est-ce qu'est la fièvre*, or the more condensed *qu'est-ce que la fièvre?* meaning *What is that [thing] that is fever?* So, as an alternative to *il est près fou*, we find by intercalation of the relative pronoun: *Il est près que fou* (that is, *il est près [ce] qu'[est un] fou*) (*he is near that, that a madman is*).

*Après* signifies (1) *after*, in time: *Après la pluie, le beau temps*. *Après ce que j'ai dit*. *Après avoir fait quelque chose*. The expression *après ce que* used in the Old language, as in:

*Droit après ce que Berthe fu de Paris partie.* (*Berte*, lix. l. 1458.)  
(Straight after Bertha was from Paris gone.)

has been abbreviated into *après que*.

*Après* also signifies (2) *after, behind*, in space: *Des esclaves marchent après lui*. It is used absolutely as an adverb: *Après venaient des soldats; ci-après*. It has a peculiar use in: *courir, crier après quelqu'un*. *Il est toujours après lui* (*he is always at him*). *Être après un ouvrage* (*to be engaged on a work*). In the popular language we find: *La clef est après* (for *à*) *la porte* (*the key is in the door*).

**475. RIÈRE (ARRIÈRE, DERRIÈRE).**—*Rière*, from the Latin *retro* (*backwards*), was used in Old French, and has given the modern compounds *arrière, derrière*.

*Arrière* was originally an adverb, and is so still in the compound locution *en arrière*: *Il est resté en arrière* (*he stayed behind*); and in compounds: *arrière-cour, arrière-neveu* (see Book III, pp. 437-439). It is even used absolutely: *Arrière!* (*back!*). *Arrière, maudit!* *Arrière* was also a preposition, but this use has been lost.

*Derrière* (= *behind*, of place) is used both as an adverb and a preposition alike in Old and Modern French. It calls for no special remarks.

**476. SANS.**—*Sans*, from the Latin *sine*, with the adverbial *s* added, means *without*. It offers certain pecu-

liarities in its syntax which may be explained by the fact that logically it contains a negative idea. Hence we say both *sans peur et sans reproche* and *sans peur ni reproche* (p. 824).

The Old language used the conjunctive expression *sans ce que*, which has been reduced to *sans que*.

**477. SOUS (DESSOUS).**—*Sous* comes from the Latin *subtus* = *below*. It gave rise to *dessous*, which was a preposition as well as an adverb down to the 17th century. The prepositional use of *dessous* hardly survives save in the double compound *par-dessous*. *Sous*, on the contrary, is now used only as a preposition.

**478. SUR (DESSUS).**—*Sur* is derived from the Popular Latin *sopra* (Cl. Lat. *supra*, *above*); it was in Middle French confused with *sus* (Pop. Lat. *susum*), which was used as an adverb and sometimes as a preposition, and meant *on top*, *on top of*. Hence the compound *dessus*, which was a preposition as well as an adverb down to the 17th century; in the present language it is hardly ever a preposition except in the double compound *pardessus*. *Sur* is only used as a preposition.

**479. VERS (ENVERS).**—*Vers*, from the Latin *versus* (*towards*), marks direction in space or time: *Vers la montagne*; *vers midi*. It was used figuratively until the 17th century, meaning *to* = *with regard to* (Mod. F. *à l'égard de*). *La foy des femmes vers les hommes estoit inviolable* (*the troth of women to men was inviolable*) (Noel du Fail, *Prop. Rust.* i. 47).

*Asses de bons sujets dans toutes les provinces*

*Par des vœux impuissants s'acquillent vers leurs princes.*

(Corn. iii. 356-7.)

(Good subjects enough in every province

Acquit themselves towards their lieges by powerless good wishes.)

... *Vers l'un ou vers l'autre il faut être perfide.* (id. iii. 420.)

(To the one or the other must I treacherous be.)

Modern custom requires the compound *envers* in such figurative uses.

II. Negation<sup>1</sup>.

French has a full negative *non* or *ne*. Even the other negative particles derived from Latin require the addition of *ne* or *non*. The negation is usually followed by a positive noun or adverb; *ne . . . pas*, *ne . . . point*, are not stronger in expression than the Latin *non*.

480. NON.—The Latin *non*, as an accented form, has been preserved in the French *non*. But its use is much more restricted at present than in the Old language. For both in Old and Middle French it was used before a finite part of the verb, especially with the verbs *être*, *avoir*, and *faire*: *Dient-il voir* (Mod. F. *Disent-ils vrai*) *que la garde de l'abbate est moye*?—*Certes, Sire, fis je, non est, ains est moye* (Say they true that the patronage of the abbey is mine? 'Sooth, sire,' said I, 'tis not, but 'tis mine') (Joinv. 676). *Chil Buriles disoit ke le terre ke Esclas tenoit devoit estre soie, et Esclas disoit que non faisoit* (this Burile said that the land which Esclas held ought to be his own, and Esclas said that it was not so) (Henri de Valenc. 545). *Non feront, non, disoit la mere* (they won't do it, no, said the mother) (Bon. des Pér., *Nouv. Réc.* ii. 288). So still in the 17th century we find: *J'en ferai de même si je puis, Mais non ferai, car . . .* (I will do the same if I can, But I will not, for . . .) (Malh. iii. 55). *Non ferai, de par tous les diables* (Mol. vii. 188). *Non sera sur mon âme* (it shall not be, on my soul) (La Font. iv. 346). In Middle French it was, moreover, frequently used before the infinitive and the present participle; hence come *nonchaloir* (subst. arch.), *nonchalant* (adj.), *nonobstant* (adj. prep. and adv.). Since the 17th century *non* has been seldom used save as an isolated adverb—(1) to determine a verb understood (Eng. *no*): *Le ferai-je*? *Non*; *Je dis que non*; or (2) to negative one of the terms of a proposition (Eng. *not*): *Je désire du vin et non de la bière*. It has also been preserved in certain peculiar locutions: *sinon*, *sinon que*,

<sup>1</sup> On the order in negative sentences see also § 491, II, p. 836.



*non que, non seulement*; and in other compounds besides *nonchaloir, nonchalant*, and *nonobstant*, e. g. : *chose non faite, non-pareille*; *non-sens*; *non-valeur*, &c.

481. NE.—*Ne* is a weakened form of the O. F. *nen*, derived from the *atonic form* of *non*. In the Old language *ne* was used as freely as *non*. Its use has been considerably reduced in modern times.

A. Use of *ne* (unaccompanied by *pas, point, &c.*) in principal propositions.

(1) Down to the 16th and 17th centuries *ne* may be found unaccompanied in optative or imperative phrases :

*Mes del seirmant ne vos griet. (Chev. au lion, l. 6626.)*

(But do not trouble about the oath.)

*Ne vous en soucies (do not trouble about it) (Saintré, 260).*  
*Ne manques, s'ilôt la présente reçue, de m'envoyer (do not fail, immediately on the receipt of this letter, to send me)*  
*(La Bruy. ii. 10).* We still say: *À Dieu ne plaise (God forbid).* *Ne bougez d'ici (arch.) (stir not hence).*

(2) *Ne* was used in negative constructions where the negation was limited by some term expressing exclusion, such as *que, fors que, mais que, se (Mod. si) non, &c.* The Modern language has preserved the constructions *ne . . . que (= only)*: *Il n'y a que lui (there is only he)*; and *ne . . . autre*: *Il n'a d'autre ressource que de fuir (he has no other resource than to fly).* But in the latter already *ne* may be followed by *pas* or *point*: we say not only *Je n'ai d'autre désir que de vous plaire*, but also *Je n'ai pas d'autre désir que de vous plaire.*

(3) *Ne* was also used alone when the negative verb governed an elliptical proposition :

*Mieux se voudroit estre à la fuite (suite)*

*Tos seus (tout seul) an si sauvage terre*

*Que l'an ne le seüst ou guerre. (Chev. au lion, l. 2784.)*

(He would rather he had taken to flight

All alone in so savage a land

That none would know where to seek him.)

This is the use we find in: *Je n'ai que faire de vos dons* (*I have no use for your gifts*).

It is used similarly with *que* = *why* (*pourquoi*), expressing a desire or imprecation (§ 417, 1, p. 673): *Que ne suis-je mort! Que n'est-il encore vivant!*

(4) *Ne* stands alone when the complement of the negative proposition is only determined by a relative proposition. This was the usage in Old as it is in Modern French: *Il n'y a serment qui tienne* (*there's no oath stands good* [in the case]). *On ne voit âme qui vive* (*one sees not a living soul*).

(5) *Ne* stood alone in the Old language when it was followed by *rien* or *aucun*. To these words in the Modern language *nul*, and later on *personne*, and all other restrictive words, have been added: *Cela ne vaut rien. Il ne lit guère. Je ne dis mot. Je ne vous reverrai jamais.*

(6) *Ne* used alone was the rule with *avoir cure, soin, pöoir, dreil* (Mod. *pouvoir, droit, garde*, &c. The following are still in use: *Je n'ai cure* (*I don't trouble myself*). *Je n'en ai garde* (*I have no intention*). *Il n'importe. Je n'ose. Je ne puis. Je ne sais*, &c.

(7) *Ne* was used alone down to the 12th century when followed by *plus* or *moins*. *N'i oserent plus demorer* (*they dared no longer stay there*) (Villeh. 205). The language has since then distinguished two senses. When *ne . . . plus* relates to time (*plus* = *henceforward*), *ne* stands alone: *Je ne le ferai plus* (*I won't do it again*). When *ne . . . plus* expresses a comparison *ne* must be followed by *pas, point*, &c.: *Il n'y a pas plus de cinq mètres.*

B. Use of *ne* (unaccompanied by *pas, point*, &c.) in subordinate propositions.

In a subordinate proposition *ne* sometimes (1) represents a logical negation; sometimes (2) it is an expletive, and its use is then due to 'attraction.'

(1) *Ne* represents a logical negation in: *Il y a longtemps que je ne l'ai vu* (*it is a long time since I have seen him*,

lit., it is a long time that I have not seen him). *Je ne ferai rien si vous ne venez* (I will do nothing if you do not come). Present practice in most of these cases tends to strengthen the negation by the addition of *pas* or *point*.

(2) The use of *ne* is due to 'attraction' when the phrase, though logically positive, implies an idea of negation, expressed or understood. We have noted the use of the negative in Old French and in certain cases in Modern French in the second part of a comparative sentence: *Il est plus sage qu'il n'était autrefois* (§ 374). We still say, for similar reasons, with verbs of doubt, fear, &c.: *Je crains qu'il ne vienne* (I fear that he may come). *Empêchez qu'il ne parle* (prevent him from speaking). *Prenez garde qu'il ne tombe* (take care lest he fall, that he does not fall). *On n'agit pas ainsi à moins qu'on ne soit fou* (one does not act like that unless one is mad). Both in Old and Middle French the verbs *nier*, *désespérer*, *défendre*, &c., were followed by a negative proposition where a positive is now generally used:

*Ja ne vos an desesperes*

*Que je tot mon pooir n'an face!*

(*Chœ. au lion*, l. 5102.)

(Despair ye not now of my doing all in my power therein.)

*M. Desmarais . . . défendit que l'on n'y laissât entrer homme du monde* (*M. Desmarais forbade them to let in any one at all*) (*Malh.* iii. 379). But it is easy to understand that the use of the negation in this case can be subject to no absolute rule. It depends on the standpoint of the person speaking or writing, and, according as his mind dwells or not on the negative idea implied in the phrase, he will add or omit the particle *ne*. Down to the 17th century great uncertainty and considerable licence prevailed with regard to this point, and ever since, in spite of the very specious discussions of grammarians, and their very often contradictory rules proclaimed in our present grammars, the use of the expletive *ne* is far from being settled.

A great many writers, and some of the best among them, do not hesitate to suppress *ne* after *à moins que* (*unless*), as Corneille did regularly, or to use such constructions as these: *Pour empêcher que ceux d'Autriche<sup>1</sup> empiètent cet état* (*to prevent the Austrians from encroaching on this state*) (Malh. iii. 96). *Je mourais de peur qu'un autre que moi<sup>1</sup> vous eût donné le plaisir d'apprendre la bonne nouvelle* (*I was dying of fear lest any one but myself should have given you the pleasure of learning the good news*) (Sév. i. 475). *Personne n'a tiré d'une destinée plus qu'il<sup>1</sup> a fait* (*no one has got more out of his lot than he has*) (La Bruy. i. 335). On the whole there is a tendency in the present language to suppress this expletive *ne*.

482. **NI.**—*Ni* comes from the Latin *neq* (*neither, nor*). In Old and Middle French the usual form was *ne*, and in the earliest monuments of the language *ned* before a vowel. Afterwards *ne* from *neq* was confused with *ne* from *non*. We find, for instance, these lines:

*Ne puis dormir par nuit ne sommeillier,  
Ne si ne puis ne boire ne mangier,  
Ne porter armes ne monter sor destrier,  
N'aler a messe, ne entrer en moustier.*

(*Prise d'Orange*, l. 374.)

(I cannot sleep at night nor slumber,  
Nor can I drink nor eat,  
Nor carry arms nor mount a charger,  
Nor go to mass nor enter church.)

Here only the two examples of *ne* that precede *puis* represent *non*; all the others represent *neq*. Some traces of *ne* used for *ni* may be found in the 17th century: *Ne plus ne moins que le pontife* (*neither more nor less than* [exactly like] *the pontifex*) (Malh. i. 450).

... *Je ne veux un tombeau*

*Plus heureux ne plus beau.* (id. i. 31.)

(I do not wish a tomb more happy nor more beautiful.)

<sup>1</sup> [The expletive *ne* might have been inserted in this place.]

*Il ne saura qui, quoi, n'en quelle part*

*N'en quel logis.*

(La Font. v. 44.)

(He'll not know who, what, nor where, nor in what house.)

The syntax of *ni*, apparently complicated, is explained by the fact that it is the synonym of *et* (or of *ou*) in a negative phrase. In Latin *ne* is used as the equivalent of *et non*, but in French *ni* is used as the equivalent simply of *et*. Take a positive sentence: *Le malade mange et boit depuis deux jours*; its negative might have been *Le malade ne mange et ne boit depuis deux jours*, and this form would have conveyed the sense correctly; but usage demands the following form: *Le malade ne mange ni ne boit depuis deux jours*. Nor has *ni* a negative signification in the following examples: *Je n'entreprendrai point ni de la condamner ni de la défendre* (*I will not undertake either to condemn or to defend it [an action]*) (La Rochef. ii. 320).

*Ni l'or ni la grandeur ne nous rendent heureux.* (La Font. vi. 147.)

(Neither gold nor grandeur makes us happy.)

*Je n'ai point exigé ni serments ni promesses.* (Boileau, *Lulrin*, ll. l. 30.)

(I have not exacted either oaths or promises.)

Moreover, we not infrequently find in the Old language examples of *et* where we now use *ni*:

... *Molt m'est mal avvenu*

*Que je ne l'ai et pris et retenu.* (Cour. Louis, l. 1226.)

(It very ill befell me that I did not take it and keep it.)

On the other hand, it happens, though infrequently, that *ni* (O.F. *ne*) has a full negative value without any other negative particle accompanying it: *Un moine . . . ne presche ny<sup>1</sup> endoctrine le monde* (*a monk neither preaches nor instructs the world*) (Rabel. i. 149).

*Qui n'enfle de pas un ni<sup>1</sup> détruit l'espérance.* (Corn. iii. 106.)

(That neither swells nor destroys the hope of any.)

*Tu ne succomberas ni<sup>1</sup> vaincras que par moi.* (id. iii. 306.)

(Thou shalt nor fall nor conquer save through me.)

*Ni*, being in most cases purely and simply an equivalent of *et*, consequently followed the syntax of *et*. The sentence:

<sup>1</sup> [*Ne* would usually be added here.]

*L'envie, la malignité et la cabale avoient des voix parmi eux* thus naturally becomes in the negative: *L'envie, la malignité, ni la cabale n'avoient de voix parmi eux* ([*nor*] *envy*, [*nor*] *malice*, *nor intrigue had a voice among them*) (La Font. viii. 26). Hence it is hard to understand why Vaugelas and all grammarians after him have required the repetition of *ni* with co-ordinate subjects or objects, any more than the repetition of *et*<sup>1</sup>.

In modern usage *ni* cannot be followed by the negative complements *pas* and *point*; we no longer say: *Qu'il soit le premier de sa race et n'ait pas le liard en sa bourse, ni pas un valet après lui* (*let him be the first of his race, and have neither a farthing in his pocket, nor a valet at his back*) (Malh. ii. 588);

*La vertu n'étoit point sujette à l'ostracisme  
Ni ne s'appeloit point alors un jansénisme.*

(Boil. Sat. XI. l. 145.)

(Virtue was not subject to ostracism

Nor was it then called Jansenism.)

Moreover, modern usage has considerably restricted the use of *ni*, replacing it in many cases by either *et* or *ou*; as after *sans*, which, having a negative value, could formerly be followed by *ni*: *Elle écouta son arrêt sans frayeur ni [Mod. et] sans foiblesse* (*she heard her sentence without fear and without weakness*) (Sév. iv. 533). *Mon équipage est venu jusqu'ici sans aucun malheur, ni [Mod. et] sans aucune incommodité* (*my equipage has come so far without any misfortune or any inconvenience*) (id. iii. 156).

Similarly, down to the 17th century, *et* uniting two subordinate propositions gave way to *ni* when the second sentence depended on a negative principal one:

*... Ne pense pas qu'au moment que je t'aime,  
Innocente à mes yeux, je m'approuve moi-même;  
Ni que du fol amour qui trouble ma raison  
Ma lâche complaisance ait nourri le poison.* (Rac. iii. 343.)

(Think not that at the moment that I love thee I approve myself innocent in my own eyes; nor that the poison of the mad love troubling my reason hath been fed by my cowardly inclination.)

<sup>1</sup> [We note that in English, as in the artificial practice of contemporary French here criticised, the negative must be repeated.]

It was not even necessary that the introductory sentence should be negative ; a negative idea was enough : *Je suis trop pressé pour en faire plus d'une copie, ni<sup>1</sup> pour vous écrire davantage* (I am too busy to make more than one copy of it, or to write any more to you) (Malh. iii. 67). *Ce monastère s'est vu hors d'état d'entretenir ni<sup>2</sup> médecin ni<sup>2</sup> chirurgien* (this monastery found itself unable to keep either physician or surgeon) (Rac. iv. 426).

*Je serois bien fâché que ce fût à refaire*

*Ni<sup>1</sup> qu'elle m'envoyât assigner la première.* (id. ii. 174.)

(I should be sorry if it had to be begun over again, and if she sent me a summons first.)

*Défendit qu'un vers foible y pût jamais entrer,*

*Ni<sup>1</sup> qu'un mot déjà mis osât s'y rencontrer.*

(Boil. Art. poët. ii. l. 91.)

(Forbade a weak line ever to find a place therein, or a word already used to dare to recur.)

The use of *ni* was formerly frequent after an interrogation : *Y a-t-il vertu que je révère, ni<sup>2</sup> que je prêche davantage ?* (is there any virtue that I revere or that I preach more ?) (Malh. ii. 23):

*Penses-tu qu'aucun d'eux veuille subir mes lois,*

*Ni<sup>2</sup> suivre une raison qui parle par ma voix ?*

(Boil. Ép. ii. l. 3.)

(Thinkest thou that any one of them will submit to my laws or be guided by reason, speaking by my voice ?)

Finally, we have noted (§ 374, 1) the use of *ni* in the second term of a comparison, which lasted down to the 17th century.

483. SEMI-NEGATIVE WORDS.—The words *nul*, *aucun*, *personne*, *rien*, *jamais*, *guère*, and a few others are accompanied by the negative: *Nul ne prétend. Aucun n'est présent. Personne n'est venu*, &c. The etymological sense of all these words, except *nul*, is positive, and they receive a negative signification solely from the following *ne*, which is nearly always present. *Nul* (Lat. *nullus*) is itself

<sup>1</sup> *Et* would now replace *ni* here.

<sup>2</sup> *Ou* or *et* would now replace *ni* here.

negative ; it was, however, from the earliest period of the language followed by the particle *ne*. In the 16th century, it is true, it occurs alone in negative phrases: *Ledit cheval estoit si terrible et efrené que nul ausoit monter dessus* (the said horse was so terrible and ungovernable that none dared mount on it) (Rabel. i. 56). *Je prie à Dieu, Mesdames, que ceste exemple vous soit si profitable que nulle de vous ait envie de soy marier* (I pray to God, ladies, that this example be so profitable to you that none of you may care to marry) (Hept. ii. 374). But this construction is a pure latinism ; and it must not be confused with another construction frequent in Old and Middle French, where *nul* is used like *ni*, without the particle *ne*, under the influence of a negative idea implied in the phrase: *Or oïez si onques si horrible traisons fu faile par nule gent* (now hearken if such horrible treason was ever done by any people) (Villeh. 222). *En Venise cuidoient trouver plus grant plenté de vaisiax que a nul autre port* (in Venice they thought to find greater plenty of vessels than in any other port) (id. 14). Here *nul* had come to mean *any* (*aucun, quelque*), and with the help of analogy it came to be used in absolutely positive phrases: *On l'interrogea par serment, s'il avoit apporté nulles lettres* (they asked him on oath if he had brought no [= any] letters) (Hept. ii. 156). *Autre exemple aussi remarquable . . . que nul des precedents* (another example as remarkable . . . as any of the preceding) (Mont. i. 3). As late as the 17th century we find :

*Il le peut épouser sans nul empêchement.* (Mol. iv. 439.)  
(He can marry him himself without any impediment.)

*Gardons bien que, par nulle autre voie, elle en apprenne jamais rien* (let us take good care that she never learn anything about it by any other means) (id. vii. 391). In Modern French *garder* with its negative implication would demand the use of *ne* before *apprenne* (*que . . . elle n'en apprenne*).

*Aucun, personne*, and the adverbs *jamais, rien*, preserve their positive value in interrogations: *Est-il aucune*



*réponse plus belle ? (is there any finer answer ?). A-t-on jamais vu pareille chose ? (did one ever see such a thing ?). Y a-t-il rien de plus beau ? (is there anything more beautiful ?).*

In elliptical propositions these words are used absolutely, without *ne*, with a negative value: *Est-il venu quelqu'un ? Personne (has any one come ? No one).—Qu'a-t-il répondu ? Rien (nothing).*

Note the word *rien* (= *rem*, a thing), which has its literal meaning, 'a thing,' in: *Est-il rien de plus beau ?*—but which by the action of *ne* became a semi-negative word in *Je n'ai rien dit*. It was then used with this new signification without the negation: *Rien ne vient de rien (nothing comes from nothing)*. Lastly, by a final extension *rien* has become again a positive substantive: *un rien, des riens (a mere trifle, mere trifles)*, really a positive extension from *nothing*<sup>1</sup>.

484. — EMPHASIZED NEGATION. — Already in Latin, to strengthen the negation, words were used indicating objects devoid of value, as in: *non facere flocci, nauci, assis, pili*, &c. (not to care the value of a flake, a rind, a penny, a hair). Old French, following this usage, employed: *ne pas priser un denier, un festu (straw), un pois (pea), un bouton (button), un ail (clove of garlic)*, &c. Of these litotes the language has preserved those with the words *mie (crumb), goutte (drop), pas (step), and point (point)*.

Originally these words had a positive value, and denoted a small quantity:

*Que trop i avroit grant donage  
Se li uns d'aus l'autre afoloit  
On point de s'enor li toloit. (Chev. au lion, l. 6186.)*

(That there would be too great a pity if the one of them mortally wounded the other or took away the smallest part of his honour.)

<sup>1</sup> [*Rien moins que* = anything but, like the German *nichts weniger als*. The literal translation *nothing less than* means *amounting to, absolutely*; though certain English writers have used it as in French and German.]

The construction is seen to be *partitive*<sup>1</sup>; hence with a negation we get:

*Mais de s'espée ne volt mie guerpir.* (Rol. l. 465.)

(But will not part at all with his sword.)

This is the origin of the present construction: *Il n'a point d'amis. Il n'a pas d'argent.* Compare: *Il a trop d'amis. Il n'a guère d'amis. Il a peu d'amis.* It is also doubtless the origin of: *Je ne veux point de ceci, de cela.* The former construction of *sans*, followed by *point de*, which was used till the 17th century, has also the same origin:

*Li cuens prent sans point de l'alargier.* (Cour. Louis, l. 143.)

(The count takes it without [a moment of] delay.)

Thus where we find the words *pas*, *point*, *mie*, followed by the preposition *de* they have kept their function as substantives.

But at an early period these words were used absolutely and became adverbs, first with a positive signification, as seen even in the 16th century: *Cela esmeut une crierie et un tumulte le plus grand qui eust encore point esté sur la place* (that stirred up an uproar and a tumult, the greatest that had hitherto ever occurred in the [market-]place) (Amyot, Cam. 87). Then they came to be regularly used with *ne*. Hence their present employment as semi-negative words.

*Mie* is no longer used; *goutte* is only used in a few familiar locutions (e.g. *je ne vois goutte*). *Pas* and *point* have survived and regularly follow the particle *ne*, save in the cases studied above (§ 481), and this compound negation has no more emphasis in the mind of the modern Frenchman than the simple negation *ne* or *non* had in Old French. However, grammarians indicate a shade of difference between *ne . . . pas* and *ne . . . point*, assigning more strength to the latter than to the former [making *ne . . . point* the equivalent of *not at all*].

The negative idea so deeply penetrated *pas* and *point* that as early as the 16th century the *ne* was suppressed

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. the common English *not a bit of good*, &c.]

in interrogative sentences: *'A il pointon deffaict la lignee de Lencastre? (has he not ruined the line of Lancaster?) (Comm. 407). Et me demanderent si le Roy<sup>1</sup> tiendroit point pour l'enfant (and they asked me if the King would not take the side of the child) (id. 533). The suppression is frequent in the 16th century, and is still to be noted in the 17th: Le perfide<sup>1</sup> est-il pas de retour? (is not the traitor returned?) (Sév. vi. 421).*

*Eh bien! lui cria-t-elle, j'avois-je pas raison? (La Font. ii. 34.)*

*('Well,' she cried to him, 'was I not right?')*

*'Fût-il pas mieux que de se plaindre? (id. i. 234.)*

*(Did he not do better than complain?)*

Indeed, this suppression much engrossed the grammarians of the period, and Vaugelas discusses the question at length. The Academy decided against it, and Corneille, who had habitually suppressed *ne* in interrogative phrases, submitted to the decision in his edition of 1660. Thus:

*Ce grand nom . . . . .*

*<sup>1</sup> Marque-t-il pas déjà sur qui tu dois regner? (iii. 187.)*

*(Does not this great name already show over whom thou shalt reign?)*  
was corrected to

*Ne fait-il pas trop voir sur qui tu dois régner?*

In the literary language of the present day the negation *ne* cannot be suppressed in interrogations, and, if some writers have done so, it has been by poetic licence.

This does not prevent the language from having a growing tendency to give the negative value to semi-negative words in elliptical phrases: *Pas d'argent, pas de Suisse. Vous direz cela? Jamais (never, lit. ever) de la vie. Homme simple, pas (not) orgueilleux. Sévère, farouche, jamais content.* Even in complete sentences the popular language sometimes suppresses the *ne* altogether: *C'est pas vrai* (for *ce n'est pas vrai*). And this use, in which *pas* is considered as a negative, has triumphed in the barbarism of the accepted phrase: *Je n'ai pas que ce livre (= I have not only this book), a negation of Je n'ai que ce livre (= I have only this book).*

<sup>1</sup> [In Modern French *ne* would be inserted here.]

## CHAPTER VIII

### ORDER OF WORDS

485. The order of words.

**I. THE ORDER IN CERTAIN WORD-GROUPS CONSIDERED SEPARATELY.—**

486. Principal and attributive substantives.—487. Substantives and attributive adjectives.—488. The article, adjective, and substantive.—489. Possessives and substantives.—490. Numerals and substantives.—491. Adverbs with verbs and adjectives.

**II. THE ORDER OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSITION.—**492. Introductory.—492 a. The subject.—493. The predicate.—494. The object.—495. The personal pronoun.—496. Separation of co-ordinate and of subordinate terms.

**485. THE ORDER OF WORDS.**—It is perhaps in that part of the syntax which deals with the order of words that the present language differs most from the Old language. The latter, from its closer affinity to Latin and its retention of the declension, enjoyed in consequence much greater freedom of construction. As already stated (§ 15), it could more easily follow the movements of thought and convey the immediate *impression*. In French the history of the order of words is thus the history of the progressive advance of the language from a construction in great measure synthetic to a construction almost entirely analytic.

Here, as elsewhere, ancient usage has left certain traces in the Modern language.

We shall first study the order of words considered in certain usual word-groups separately, and then the order of words as the elements of the proposition. Nothing will be said concerning the order of the subordinate sentences, &c., the language having in this respect largely preserved the same freedom that it possessed formerly.

**I. The Order in certain Word-Groups considered separately.**

**486. PRINCIPAL AND ATTRIBUTIVE SUBSTANTIVES.**—An attributive substantive is one connected with a principal

substantive by some relation of dependence, especially of possession: *Les commandements de Dieu*. It follows its subject.

Such was the construction from the earliest period of the language. However, we often find in Old French the attributive substantive placed first: *Et issirent de lors meillors gens une partie fors* (and a party of their best men issued forth [made a sortie]) (Villeh. 167). *Luxure est de l'ame destruction* (luxury is destruction to the soul) (Saintre, 28). *De cheval donné tousjours regardoit en la gueulle* (he always looked into the mouth of a gift-horse) (Rabel. i. 45). *De ceux la est la liberté peu suspecte* (of those is the liberty little called in question) (Mont. iii. 1). From the 17th century this inversion has been only allowed in poetry:

*Pour de ce grand dessein assurer le succès.* (Corn. iv. 76.)

(To assure the success of this great design.)

*D'animaux malfaisants, c'étoit un très bon plat.* (La Font. ii. 444.)

(Of hurtful animals they made a very good dish [= assortment].)

On the other hand, we know that the relation of possession might be marked by the form of the objective case (§462, IV, 2, p. 792), and, as is shown by the old juxtaposites *lundi, mardi, Abbeville* (Book III, § 281), the primitive construction placed the determinant before the determinate. It is thus that in the *Oaths* we find *pro Deo amur* (for love of God), and in the *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*: *li Deo inimi* (the enemies of God). This inversion was constant with the words *Dieu, diable, roi, père*. It was still in use during the 12th and 13th centuries for *Dieu: par la Dieu grace, en la Dieu main, &c.* Hence comes the locution *Dieu merci*<sup>1</sup>.

#### 487. SUBSTANTIVES AND ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES.—

Usage has considerably varied with regard to the place that the attributive adjective should occupy. The Old language had largely preserved the Latin tradition, and generally

<sup>1</sup> [Lit. by God's grace; now equivalent to *thank God*.]

placed the adjective before the substantive. The anxiety for rhythm of phrase, which has prevailed in French since the 17th century, and which forbids a substantive to be preceded by an adjective of greater length, was not felt: *Ils fesoient trois merveillous saus* (all three made wonderful jumps) (Joinv. 526). *Ils boutèrent le feu en le desoustraine ville de Miaus* (they set fire to the lower town of Miaus) (Froiss. v. 106). Nowadays, disliking the abrupt cadence of the phrase, we should say: *sauts merveilleux, tour malicieux, parole chevaleresque*. And in point of fact those few adjectives which the present language still places almost regularly before substantives (unless the substantives are monosyllabic) are short: *bel, bref, court, long, haut, jeune, bon, sot*. Side by side with these, others that are no less short are now regularly placed after the substantive: we no longer say, as formerly: *une plate pierre, une brune couleur, un maigre cheval, une veuve dame*, &c.

In fact, the place given to the attributive adjective became gradually less definite as the anxiety for harmony developed among authors, and also as their analyses of the relation noted by the adjective became more delicate. As early as the 12th century, when the adjective attracted special attention and denoted a particular quality, it was placed after the substantive. Just as Latin used *navis longa* rather than *longa navis* to indicate a particular kind of ship—the man-of-war—so Old French placed after the substantive certain adjectives, e.g. *grand, petit, gros, riche, vilain, saint*, &c. Post-position of this kind was especially frequent in the case of Learned adjectives, which, being in less common use than Popular adjectives, presented a special signification. Certain other adjectives indicating physical qualities or external circumstances, such as *rouge, gris, écru, blanc, mâle, voisin*, &c., had already a tendency to be placed regularly after the substantive.

From the Middle French period the language went on developing this practice. Robert and Henri Estienne

noted that very often the difference in the place of the adjective resulted in a difference of meaning, and that certain adjectives, especially those of colour, should follow the substantive. Not only has the number of these adjectives increased considerably ever since, but the cases where the signification varies according as the adjective is placed before or after the substantive also tend to increase. In the 17th century the adjectives *même*, *seul*, *certain*, *propre*, *second*, *différent*, were still placed indifferently before or after their substantives ; at present their meaning changes with their place. We may add *bon*, *brave*, *galant*, *grand*, *pauvre*, *triste*<sup>1</sup>, &c. With many others, although the difference of meaning is not so marked, it still exists ; compare *un habile homme* with *un homme habile*, *un savant homme* with *un homme savant*<sup>2</sup>, &c. In the case of adjectives where the meaning is not altered it is, as Vaugelas said, for the ear and for custom to decide their position. It is noteworthy, however, that the language tends more and more to place the adjective after the substantive, that is, to use it to indicate an individual rather than a generic distinction, contrary to the Latin custom<sup>3</sup>.

488. THE ARTICLE, ADJECTIVE, AND SUBSTANTIVE.—The article is regularly placed before the substantive deter-

<sup>1</sup> [*Bon homme* = good fellow ; *homme bon* = good man. *Brave homme* = good man ; *homme brave* = brave man. *Galant homme* = gallant man, gentleman ; *homme galant* = man attentive to women. *Grand homme* = great man ; *homme grand* = tall man (but *grande femme* = tall woman). *Pauvre homme* = poor man (pityingly) ; *homme pauvre* = a poor (indigent) man. *Triste homme* = wretched creature ; *homme triste* = sad man.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Un homme habile* = a clever man, in the general sense ; *un habile homme* is somewhat pejorative in idea. Cf. the Eng. 'a clever person.' *Un savant homme* is almost a compound word, and is somewhat more forcible than *un homme savant*.]

<sup>3</sup> [We may note that post-posed the adjective is rather supplemental, and that the relative and the verb *to be* might be supposed inserted (§ 352, 2) ; while, when it precedes, it has the function of a determinant. Modern writers often prepose the adjective for picturesqueness.]

mined, or the attributive adjective when this precedes the substantive: *Les conseillers. Les mauvais conseillers.* In Old French, as we have seen (§ 486), it could be separated from the principal substantive by an attributive substantive: *li Deo inimi.* It could also be separated by the relative *cui* (= *whose*):

*Artus, li buens rois de Breitaigne  
Li cui procece nos anasingne.* (Chev. au lion, l. 1.)

(Arthur, the good King of Britain, whose prowess teaches us.)

*Li trahitres en le cui aide il aloient* (the traitors to whose aid they were going) (Henri de Valenc. 639).

But generally in such cases there was no article: *en oui garde* (in whose care) (Villeh. 112). *Ne sai par oui conseil l'empereres respondi qu'il voloit aler* (I know not by whose advice the emperor answered that he wished to go) (id. 277).

489. POSSESSIVES AND SUBSTANTIVES.—Possessives in their atonic form were, and are, regularly placed before the substantive (*son fils, son brave fils*); in their accented form they were generally placed between the determinant and the substantive: *un sien fils, par ceste meïe barbe* (a son of his, by this my beard), &c. In the 16th century the accented possessive occurs after the substantive, but in this case it has the function of a true relative proposition: *Les transporta en pays sien* (he carried them into his own country [= the country that was his own]) (Rabel. ii. 19). *Les douceurs de cette vie nostre* (the sweets of this life of ours [= that is ours]) (Mont. i. 38).

490. NUMERALS AND SUBSTANTIVES.—Numerals, whether cardinal or ordinal, were generally placed before the substantive, as at present. In Old French, however, to indicate dates, the word *ans* was placed between the last number and the last but one<sup>1</sup>: *mille deus cens anz et quatre* (one

<sup>1</sup> [A similar construction occurs in the English Authorized Version.]



*thousand two hundred years and four*). Further, *ambe*, *ambedui*, *andui* (Lat. *ambo*, *two*), were placed before the determinant:

*Ambes ses mains en levat contre mont.* (Rol. l. 419.)  
(Both his hands he lifted on high.)

If in *Charles Quint*, *François deux*, &c. (§ 378) the numeral is placed after, it is because it is more than a simple attribute of the substantive, and is used in apposition; in Old French, indeed, *Charles le quint* was the more frequent form.

491. ADVERBS WITH VERBS AND ADJECTIVES. — I. At the present day, in the usual constructions, the adverb, whether simple or compound, generally immediately follows the verb, or immediately precedes the adjective which it qualifies: *Il est venu ici. Il travaille courageusement. Il est très bon. C'est fort beau.* This order is only modified for the purpose of emphasizing the idea expressed by the adverb: *Jusqu'ici, tout allait bien. Ici il faut arrêter et examiner la situation. Tant il est sage.*

Down to the 16th century the language enjoyed greater freedom, as we see by the following examples:

Adverbs of place: *Arere se sunt mis* (*they put themselves behind*) (*Saint-Thomas*, l. 2268). *Je fais ioi sentir mes inclinations* (*I here reveal my inclinations*) (*Mont*. iii. 9).

Adverbs of time:

*De vos soit hui male confusion!* (Rol. l. 3276.)  
(May ill confusion you befall this day!)

*Cil ne sont prot jamais por guerrier.* (id. l. 1514.)  
(These are fit nevermore to fight.)

*S'en alla en ung jardin . . . où longuement se promena* (*he went into a garden where he walked for a long time*) (*Hept*. i. 279).

Adverbs of manner:

*Molt gentement l'emperere chevalchet.* (Rol. l. 3121.)  
(Right nobly the emperor rides.)

*Et sachiez que onques plus orgueilleusement nuls port ne fu pris* (and know that never was port more proudly taken) (Villeh. 157). *Mal apertement se partirent* (they retired in obviously bad fashion) (Joinv. 164). *Beaucoup moins est Camillus comparable à Themistocles* (much less is Camillus comparable to Themistocles) (Mont. ii. 32). *Il est bon et frays assez* (it is good and fresh enough) (Rab. ii. 10). An example of the adverb placed before the verb has been preserved in *Ainsi soit-il* (so be it).

The adverb *plus* in a comparative sentence was freely placed after the adjective in Old and Middle French, e.g.: *blanc plus que neige*, instead of *plus blanc que neige*. Moreover, down to the 17th century, instead of the present construction, *d'autant plus . . . que . . . plus* (*il devient d'autant plus avare qu'il devient plus riche*), they used *plus . . . plus . . .*, the latter followed by the comparative proposition (*the more . . . the more . . .*), e.g.:

*J'y deviens plus sec, plus j'y vois de verdure.* (Malh. i. 139.)  
(The more greenery I see, the more dried up I become.)

*J'ai moins de repentir, plus je pense à ma faute.* (id. i. 22.)  
(The more I think of my fault, the less repentance I have.)

*Et l'heur de vous revoir lui semblera plus doux*  
*Plus elle aura pleuré pour un si cher époux.* (Corn. iii. 491.)  
(And the more she has wept for a husband so dear,  
The sweeter will seem the joy of seeing you again.)

The constructions given above, in which the affirmative proposition precedes, just as in *d'autant plus . . . que*, &c., must not be confounded with the now very usual construction where the order of the propositions is reversed, and the affirmative follows the comparative; with this construction *j'y deviens plus sec, plus j'y vois de verdure* becomes: *plus j'y vois de verdure, plus j'y deviens sec*.

II. *Position of negatives.* 1. With simple finite tenses, *ne* precedes the verb, *pas* follows it. *Ne* can only be separated from the verb by the atonic personal pronouns, and by *en* or *y*. *Pas* can only be separated from the verb by certain

adverbs, such as *vraiment*, *certainement*, *assurément*, &c. : *Je ne fais pas cela. Je ne lui en fais certainement pas un reproche.*

2. With compound finite tenses, *ne* precedes and *pas* follows the *auxiliary* under the same restrictions as those regulating their position with regard to the verb in the simple tenses. *On ne lui a pas donné un sou.*

3. With the present infinitive of all verbs except *être* and *avoir*, *ne* is immediately followed by *pas*, and the group *ne pas* can only be separated from the infinitive by the words that separate *ne* from the verb in finite tenses : *ne pas vous en contenter, c'est mal.*

4. With *être* and *avoir* used independently, or as the auxiliary in a perfect infinitive, *pas* may either follow *ne* immediately : *ne pas être* or *avoir* ; or it may follow the auxiliary : *n'être* or *n'avoir pas*. Moreover, the introduction of the atonic personal pronouns and of *en* and *y* before the auxiliary, and of the adverbs quoted in (1), above, after it, gives rise to a certain number of variations : *ne pas en avoir eu* ; *n'en avoir pas eu* ; *c'est n'avoir vraiment pas de chance.*

5. All that has been said above with regard to *pas* applies to *point*, except (3). We can say *ne point souffrir* ; but we can also say *ne souffrir point*, which is much more emphatic ; while *ne souffrir pas* is not used. In cases where the sense allows *rien* to be used, it follows the same rules as *point*.

6. We may note that in the 17th century traces are found of the ancient usage which (i), on the one hand, placed *pas* or *point* before *ne* : *Pas n'y faudrai* (*I will not fail thereof*) (La Font. iv. 98) ; and (ii), on the other hand, separated *ne* from *pas* in freer fashion than at present : *Il ne lui étoit resté pas un seul amant* (*not a single lover had remained to her*) (La Font. viii. 47). *C'est ce qui a différé ma réponse, et la prière que j'ai à vous faire de ne vous contenter pas du bruit que les comédiens font de mes deux actes* (*what has delayed*

*my answer was this, and the request I have to make you not to be satisfied with the noise the players are making over my two acts*) (Corn. x. 490). *Je vous supplie . . . de ne me refuser pas* (*I beseech you not to refuse me*) (La Rochef. iii. 167).

## II. The Order of the Elements of the Proposition.

**492. INTRODUCTORY.**—According to present usage the elements of the proposition are placed in the following order : subject, verb, predicate (*Dieu est bon*) ; or : subject, verb, object (*j'ai écrit ma lettre*). When there are several different objects the direct object takes the first place (*j'ai donné cet argent à un pauvre*) unless it is followed by accessory determinants (*j'ai envoyé à mon père la lettre que j'ai écrite*).

Such is the general rule of construction. Present usage, however, allows some licence in certain cases which we shall note below, and which show a survival of the greater freedom which prevailed in the Old language.

The place of the subject, the predicate, the object, will be studied in turn. The position of the personal pronoun used as the object will be examined separately.

**492 a. THE SUBJECT** (see also § 495).—I. In the Modern language, when the proposition consists of a subject and a verb without a predicate or object, the subject may follow the verb in two cases :

1. With intransitive verbs such as *venir, survenir, entrer, apparaître, rester, suivre, &c.*, to give a livelier expression to the thought : *Survient un orage. Arrive mon frère. Restoit cette redoutable infanterie de l'armée d'Espagne* (Boss., *Oraison sur Condé*). In this case the subject can only be a substantive, not a pronoun.

2. With declaratory verbs in a parenthetical or intercalated sentence ; and then the subject may be either a substantive or a pronoun : *dît le roi, dît-il, &c.*

These two inversions have remained as they existed in Old and Middle French ; in the earliest texts of the

language, however, the number of neuter verbs that could precede the subject was much greater.

II. When the proposition consists of a subject, a verb, and a predicate or object, the Modern language still allows the subject to follow the verb, especially when it is a personal pronoun, if the proposition commences with an indeclinable word, such as *ainsi, aussi, peut-être, encore, à peine, de là, toujours, là, jadis, autrefois, &c.* : *Peut-être viendra-t-il. À peine arriva-t-il.* When the subject in this case is a substantive it sometimes comes before the verb, but it is then generally repeated as a pronoun after it : *À peine mon ami fut-il arrivé.*

The construction with the subject post-posed may also be found in subordinate sentences introduced after the principal either by a relative in the objective case, or by a conjunction : *Avez-vous vu la maison qu'a achetée mon père ? C'est samedi que doit arriver mon frère. Il n'avait que vingt ans quand fut consommée sa ruine* (he was only twenty when his ruin was completed). We have here the remains of a construction more widely used in Old and Middle French, according to which the subject might follow the verb when the proposition commenced with a predicate or an object, as in the following example :

*Bons fut li siecles al tens ancienor. (Alex. l. 1.)*  
(Good was the world in the time of the ancients.)

Thus we still say : *Bienheureux sont les pauvres d'esprit*, or, with the verb understood : *Bienheureux les pauvres d'esprit* (§ 493). *Totes les paroles . . . ne vos contera mie li livres* (the book will not tell you all the words) (Villeh. 129).

Down to the 13th century the post-position of the subject was the rule when the sentence opened with an adverb : *Après se croissa Henris ses freres* (after, Henry, his brother, took the cross) (Villeh. 8). *Et la fu je* (and I was there) (Joinv. 93). This construction is still found very frequently in the 16th century, and accounts for certain expressions of the

17th century, such as : *Bien ai-je cru, bien est-il vrai, or ai-je dit, &c. Seulement avoit-il force lettres dans ses poches* (only he had many letters in his pockets) (Malh. iii. 428). *Ce mot d' 'aleine' a déjà été commenté et a-t-on dit que . . .* (this word 'aleine' has been already commented on, and it has been said that . . .) (id. iii. 428).

*Mais ils sont innocents ; ainsi l'étoit mon frère.* (Corn. ii. 406.)

(But they are innocent ; so was my brother.)

*Autant que mon esprit adore vos mérites*

*Autant veux-je du mal à vos longues visites.* (id. ii. 104.)

(As much as my mind adores your deserts

Just so I hate your long [rounds of] visits.)

*On lui permit d'abord de demander tout en argent comptant . . . et le refusa-t-on de la survivance qu'il demandait pour moi* (they allowed him first to ask for all in cash . . . and they refused him the reversion that he asked for me) (La Rochef. ii. 451).

This construction also explains certain inversions, which appear to us particularly bold, in the poets of the 17th century :

*Comme ils n'ont plus de sceptres, ils n'ont plus de flatteurs,*

*Et tombent avec eux d'une chute commune*

*Tous ceux que la Fortune*

*Faisoit leurs serviteurs.*

(Malh. i. 274.)

(As they have sceptres no more, they have flatterers no more, and with them sink in a common fall all those whom Fate had made their servants.)

*Quand pourra mon amour baigner avec tendresse*

*Ton front victorieux de larmes d'allégresse ?* (Corn. iii. 332.)

(When shall my love tenderly bathe

Thy conquering brow with tears of joy ?)

III. Another inversion of the subject still frequent in the 17th century consisted in its interpolation between the auxiliary and the participle of a compound tense, or between the finite part and the infinitive of a periphrastic verb :

*El ne pouvoit Rosette être mieux que les roses.* (Malh. i. 39.)

(And Rosette could fare no better than the roses.)

*Celle qu'avoit Hymen à mon cœur attaché.* (Malh. I. 223.)

(She whom Hymen had to my heart attached.)

..... *Un monarque françois*

*Que ne sauroit l'envie accuser d'aucun vice.* (Corn. x. 90.)

(..... A French monarch whom envy could accuse of no vice.)

*Sur qui sera d'abord sa vengeance exercée?* (Rac. II. 545.)

(On whom first will his revenge be wrought!)

It was the same in Old and Middle French:

*Mesmes matines ad li reis escoltel.* (Rol. I. 670.)

(Mass and matins has the king heard.)

*Quant eles furent faites, si fu la chose devisée* (when they were made, the thing was told) (Villeh. 30). *Si furent adonc alors leurs cris et leurs regrets entendus clairement* (then were their cries and their lamentations plainly heard) (Amyot, Rom. 17).

IV. For the place of the subject in interrogative propositions see § 391.

V. In optative propositions the Modern language places the subject after certain subjunctives such as : *vive, vivent, périssent, vienne, viennent, sois, soit, soient*, and *puisse* : *Vive la France!* But we say : *Dieu le veuille! Dieu vous bénisse!* The post-position of the subject in optative propositions was more widely used during the 17th century (§ 443, IV).

VI. Similarly the subject follows in formal propositions denoting a supposition, as in the statement of mathematical or logical data, where the subjunctive is not followed by *que* : *Soit le nombre 2* (take the number 2). *Soit AB une droite* (let AB be a straight line). *Soient les phrases* (consider the phrases), &c.

498. THE PREDICATE.—The regular place of the predicate is after the verb : *Dieu est bon. Il est devenu pauvre.* It may however, as we have seen (p. 839), be placed at the beginning of the proposition : *Bienheureux sont les pauvres d'esprit. Tel est mon avis. Autre est mon sentiment.* And this construction was frequent down to the 16th

century: *Nostre estoit-il à très bonnes enseignes* (*ours was he by very good signs*) (Mont. i. 23, p. 65). *Au moins sages ne pouvons nous estre que de nostre propre sagesse* (*at any rate we can only be wise with our own wisdom*) (id. i. 24, p. 74).

Exclamatory sentences may be headed by the adjective predicate, with the verb *être* omitted: *Admirable la scène ! très oorrect, le petit prince !* Such locutions are especially characteristic of the spoken language, but occur even in descriptions in modern novelists.

The predicate could also be placed in Old French between the verb and the subject, or between the subject and the verb. These two inversions, of which some examples may still be found in the 16th century, have entirely disappeared.

494. THE OBJECT (see also § 495).—I. *The direct object.* (1) The direct object generally follows the verb: *Dieu aime les hommes*. Should, however, special attention be drawn to the object it may be placed at the beginning of the proposition, but on condition that it is repeated by a pronoun following: *cette lettre, je l'ai lue*. The Old language used this construction, but without the pronoun: *Grant grace nous fist Nostre Sires* (*great grace showed us Our Lord*) (Joinv. 165). *Et ceste response ne li fis-je pas* (*and this answer I did not make him*) (id. 421). *Semblables actions de graces rendit Pantagruel à toute l'assistance* (*the like thanks gave Pantagruel to all the company*) (Rabel. i. 320). *Ceoy ai-je reconnu de mes yeux* (*this have I recognized with my [own] eyes*) (Mont. i. 11). We find also in interrogative phrases:

*Votre terre qui défendra  
Quant li rois Artus i vendra ?*

(*Chen. au lion*, l. 1615.)

(Your land, who shall defend, when King Arthur comes there!)

We may add, however, that the habit of recalling the direct object by means of a pronoun was introduced at a fairly early period.



(2) Another inversion consists in placing the object between the subject and the verb. In Modern French this inversion is only admissible for pronouns: *Dieu nous aime. Je le veux.* It was used with substantives also in Old French: *Li baron merci vous crient* (*the barons cry you mercy*) (Villeh. 106); and especially in relative propositions: *Con cil qui grant mestier en avoient* (*as men who had great need thereof*) (id. 135). This is the origin of such poetic constructions as:

*Louis dont ce beau jour la présence m'octroie.* (Malh. i. 252.)

(Louis, whose presence this happy day grants me.)

*Quel astre malheureux ma fortune a bûtie?* (id. i. 129.)

(What unhappy star built my fortune?)

*Les deux camps mutinés un tel ohoiz désavouent.* (Corn. iii. 335.)

(The two camps mutinous disavow such a choice.)

*L'aigle et le chat-huant leurs querelles cessèrent.* (La Font. i. 420.)

(The eagle and the owl their quarrels stopped.)

We can easily understand that with the loss of the declension, and the suppression of all difference of form between subject and object, the present construction was bound in the end to triumph. It already prevailed greatly in Old French, and the inverted construction, just quoted, was used especially with verbs whose subject was understood.

(3) Down to the 17th century the direct object could be intercalated between the auxiliary and the participle of a compound tense, or between the finite part and the infinitive or the participle of a periphrastic verb:

*Leurs pieds qui n'ont jamais les ordures pressées.* (Malh. i. 12.)

(Their feet which never have trodden filth.)

*Mais ayant de vos fils les grands cœurs découverts.* (id. i. 191.)

(But having discovered your sons' great hearts.)

*Le ciel qui nous choisit lui-même des partis*

*À tes feux et les miens prudemment assortis.* (Corn. i. 423.)

(Heaven, which herself chooses us 'mates, has wisely matched both thy passion and mine.)

*Vous rendez du défunt la volonté trompée.* (La Font. vii. 420.)  
(You violate the wishes of the dead.)

*Le pauvre Eschyle ainsi eut ses jours avancer.* (id. ii. 295.)  
(Poor Aeschylus thus managed to put on his [term of] days.)

An attribute of the object could also occupy this place:

*Ce parasite ailé*  
*Que nous avons mouche appelé.* (La Font. ii. 262.)  
(That winged parasite which we 'fly' have named.)

(4) In imperative non-negative phrases, as shown by the compound words formed of a verb in the imperative and a direct object (*Taillefer, Boileau, couvre-chef, garde-robe, &c.*) (Book III, § 301), the object was originally placed after the verb: *Aimez Dieu. Aidez autrui.* The only exception is for atonic pronouns in negative phrases, as we shall see (§ 495, 3).

II. *The indirect object and circumstantial complement.*—Down to the 17th century the language enjoyed almost full liberty as regards the position of these objects. In the Modern language they generally come after the verb, and when accompanied by a direct object their place is determined either by the sense or by the harmony of the sentence.

495. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.—I. *The subject.* The rules of construction for the pronoun used as a subject are almost the same as those for the substantive (for an exception see § 492 a, 1); we have nothing to add thereon.

II. *The object.* (1) Affirmative and negative propositions.

(i) The old order placing the direct object before a transitive verb has been preserved since the origin of the language for atonic pronouns: *Dieu nous aime.* The indirect object of intransitive verbs occupies the same place: *Il nous obéit.* In Old French, with a finite verb, the accented forms, we have seen, were used (§ 393), and these could even be placed after the verbs: *conseillierent soi* (*they consulted one another*) (Villeh. 24). Sometimes atonic

forms also may be found placed after the verbs: *Ot le li enfes* (the child heard him) (*Cour. Louis*, l. 87). *Et distrent... se il le voloit faire, préissent le; et s'il nel voloit faire desfiassent le de par als* (and they said... if he would do it they would accept, and if he would not do it they sent him defiance by these men) (*Villeh.* 210). From the 16th century the accented form *soi* was used only with infinitives and gerunds; and *soi-disant* (self-styled, pretended) has survived to the present day. We may also note the accented forms preceded by a preposition and placed before the past participle in the legal phrases: *l'autorisation à nous accordée, une erreur par lui commise*, &c.

(ii) Two personal pronouns, one being the direct object, the other the indirect, cannot precede the verb when the direct object is in the 1st or 2nd person. The direct object alone precedes. We say *il m'envoie à toi, à lui* (he sends me to thee, to him); *il t'envoie à moi, à lui*<sup>1</sup>.

But when the direct object is in the 3rd person (*le, la, les*) the two pronouns precede; and the indirect object is placed before the direct if it is in the 1st or 2nd person, but after if it is in the 3rd: *il me (or te) l'envoie* (he sends it to me, to thee), but *il le lui envoie* (he sends it to him)<sup>2</sup>.

In Old French, on the contrary, even when the direct object was in the 1st or 2nd person, the indirect objects *moi, toi, lui*, preceded by a preposition, could also be placed before the verb:

*Miaudre de moi à vos m'envoie.* (*Cher. au lion*, l. 507a.)

([One] better than myself sends me to you.)

And again, when the direct object was in the 3rd person, it could precede the indirect object in the 1st or 2nd person: *Et si le vos prions* (and we even beg it of you) (*Villeh.* 82). *Car je le vous doing et si le vous garantirai* (for I give it and even guarantee it to you) (*Joinv.* 91). This construction was still in use at the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> And not *il te m'envoie*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> And not: *il le m'envoie, il lui l'envoie*.

17th century. Vaugelas and the Academy brought about the definitive triumph of the modern construction, although it is inconsistent to say *il le lui dira* (*he will tell it him*) side by side with *il me le dira* (*he will tell me it*).

(2) In imperative phrases, if they are affirmative, the accented pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, and the atonic pronoun of the 3rd, are used, and follow the verb: *Aimez-moi. Conduis-toi bien. Aime-le. Aime-les.* If they are negative, the atonic forms of all three persons are used, and precede the verb: *Ne me conduis pas. Ne le blesse pas.*

This was also the practice in Old French. However, a positive imperative with the pronoun preceding (and atonic) may sometimes be found: *Un petit me souffrés* (*bear with me a little*) (*Alisc.* l. 2373). *Donques vous gardez que vous ne faîtes* (*so take ye care not to do*) (*Joinv.* 24). In Middle French and in the 17th century the following construction in the second of two co-ordinate propositions may be found: *Roidissons-nous et nous efforçons* (*let us stiffen ourselves and master ourselves*) (*Mont.* i. 19). *Faites-en faire des informations et me les envoyez* (*let information be procured about it and send it to me*) (*La Rochef.* iii. 25).

*Polissez-le sans cesse et le repolissez.* (*Boil., Art. poët.* l. l. 178.)  
(Unceasing polish it, and polish it again.)

*Aimes toujours Thétis et vous aimez aussi.* (*La Font.* vii. 17.)  
(Love Thetis still and love yourself as well.)

(3) When the pronoun depends on a locution formed of a finite verb and an infinitive, and the pronoun is the object of the infinitive, it is (except with the verbs quoted below) placed between the finite verb and the infinitive: *Je vais le chercher* (*I am going to fetch him*). If the pronoun is the object of the principal verb, it is placed between the subject and the finite verb: *Je le regarde tomber* (*I am watching him fall*).

The Old language, on the contrary, in both cases re-

garded the pronoun as the object of the verbal locution as a whole and not of either of the verbs considered separately; accordingly the pronoun was always placed before the finite verb. Such was still the usage in the 17th century: *L'on les veut<sup>1</sup> mettre dans leur tort absolument (they wish to put them entirely in the wrong)* (La Rochef. iii. 71).

*La commune s'alloit<sup>1</sup> séparer du Sénat.* (La Font. i. 209.)

(The common folk were about to separate themselves from the Senate.)

*J'espère toujours qu'il les pourra<sup>1</sup> vaincre (I hope still that he will be able to conquer them)* (La Bruy. i. 372.) *Tel homme . . . ne se peut<sup>1</sup> définir (such a man . . . cannot be defined)* (id. ii. 18). The construction has only been preserved where the pronoun is the object of the infinitive of one of the six following verbs: *voir, entendre, envoyer, sentir, laisser, faire*: *Je vous ai vu battre (I saw you beaten)*, because the infinitive active is here the equivalent of an infinitive passive of which the pronoun would be the subject (§ 449, II, p. 737).

(4) When *en* and *y* come together *y* precedes *en*: *Il y en*

a. In Old and Middle French *en* preceded *y*:

*Gardez que n'en i vienne plus.* (Chev. au lion, l. 1902.)

(Take care no more of them come here.)

496. SEPARATION OF CO-ORDINATE OR SUBORDINATE TERMS.—In the Modern language co-ordinate terms, whether subjects, attributive adjectives, or adverbs, &c., are always placed together. In the Old language, on the contrary, there was no restriction, and the present usage was far from being finally established even in the 17th century:

*Son devoir m'a trahi, mon malheur, et son père.* (Corn. iii. 507.)

(Her duty, my misfortune, and her father have betrayed me.)

*Après une si belle action et si utile (after so fine and so useful an action)* (Sév. iv. 30).

<sup>1</sup> [In contemporary French the pronoun would be placed here.]

So also a preposition was often separated from its object by an attributive substantive with *de*:

*Pour de ce grand dessein assurer le succès.* (Corn. iv. 76.)  
(To ensure the success of this great design.)

*Malgré de vos rigueurs l'impérieuse loi.* (id. v. 383.)  
(Despite the imperious law of your severity.)

Finally, the relative *qui, que*, might be separated from its antecedent: in most cases of such separation we now use *lequel, laquelle*, to avoid ambiguity:

*Le secret n'est pas grand qu'aisément on devine.* (Corn. vi. 26.)  
(The secret is not great that easily is guessed.)

*La Fortune étoit debout devant lui qui lui délioit la langue* (before him stood Fortune, unloosening his tongue) (La Font. i. 32). *Il se forma une cabale de la plupart de ceux qui avoient été attachés à la Reine pendant la vie du feu Roi, qui fut nommée des Importants.* (a cabal was formed of most of those who had been attached to the Queen during the life of the late King, which was named [the cabal] 'des Importants') (La Rochef. ii. 68). *Une femme survient qui n'est point de leurs plaisirs* (a woman comes up who has no share in their pleasures) (La Bruy. i. 277).

[We may note here that in French, when a substantive and its post-posed attributive adjective are followed by a relative clause of attribution, this clause, although it seems to qualify both substantive and adjective taken together, is linked with the adjective by means of *et*, as if it were equivalent to a co-ordinate adjective. In the English corresponding, and is not permissible. *Certaines couleurs changeantes et qui sont diverses selon les différents jours dont on les regarde* (certain changing colours which are different according to the various lights in which they are looked at) (La Bruy. i. 298).]

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF AUTHORS AND TEXTS QUOTED IN BOOK IV.

Names of authors are printed in Roman characters, those of works in italics. Dates enclosed in brackets are dates of birth and death. Dates in thick type are dates of authorship or first publication of texts. The word 'about' is abbreviated into *ab.*

**Alain Chartier** [1386-1449], *Œuvres*, ed. by André Du Chesne Tourangeau. Paris, 1617. (Including *L'Espérance*; *Histoire du Roy Charles VII*; *Le Curial*; *Le Quadrilogue*, &c.)

**Alexis** (*La Vie de saints*), *ab.* 1040, ed. by G. Paris. Paris, 1885.

**Aliscans**, 12th cent., ed. by F. Guessard and A. de Montaiglon. Paris, 1870.

**Amis et amiles** and **Jourdains de Blaivies**, *ab.* 1175, ed. by C. Hofmann. Erlangen, 1852.

**Amyot** (Jacques) [1513-1593], *Vie des hommes illustres* (translation of *Plutarch's Lives*)<sup>1</sup>. Paris, definitive edition, 1567. Edition quoted: Paris, 1572.

**Aymeri de Narbonne**, 1210-1220, by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, ed. by L. Demaison. Paris, 1887.

**Bartas** (Guillaume de Saluste, sieur du) [1544-1590], *Judith*, 1578. Edition quoted, *Œuvres*, 1597.

**Bastars de Buillon**, 14th cent. [?], ed. by A. Scheler. Brussels, 1877.

**Baudouin de Condé** [1245-1275] (*Dits et Contes de*), ed. by A. Scheler. 3 vols. Brussels, 1866-67.

**Bauduin de Sebourg** (*Li Romans de*), 14th cent. Valenciennes, 1841.

<sup>1</sup> The figures given in the quotations refer to folios.

- Beaumanoir, Philippe de [1226-1296], *Coutumes du Beauvoisis*, ed. by Count A. A. Beugnot. Paris, 1842.
- Bellay (Joachim du) [1491-1553], *Œuvres*, ed. by C. Marty-Laveaux. Paris, 1866-67.
- Berte aus grans piés (Li Roumans de)*, ab. 1270, par Adenès li Rois, ed. by A. Scheler. Brussels, 1874.
- Bèze (Théodore de) [1509-1605], *Le Sacrifice d'Abraham*, 1550 (?). Edition quoted, Troyes, 1638.
- Boileau-Despréaux (Nicolas) [1636-1711]. *Satires*, 1680-1705. *Épîtres*, 1668-1698. *L'Art Poétique*, 1674. *Lutrin*, 1674-1683.
- Bonaventure des Périers [d. 1544], *Recréations Nouvelles et joyeux devis*, 1558. Edition quoted, *Œuvres*, ed. by L. Lacour. Paris, 1856.
- Bossuet (Jacques Bénigne) [1627-1704]. *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, 1681. *Oraison funèbre de Le Tellier*, 1686. *Oraison funèbre de Condé*, 1687.
- Bouhours (Father) [1628-1702].
- Brut de Munich (Der Münchener Brut)*, 12th cent., ed. by K. Hofmann and K. Vollmöller. Halle, 1877.
- Calvin [1509-1564], *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, ab. 1540. Edition quoted, Geneva, 1561.
- Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*, ab. 881, in *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française*, ed. by E. Koschwitz. Heilbronn, 1888. (5th edit., Leipzig, 1897.)
- Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, ab. 1450, ed. by Th. Wright. Paris, 1858.
- Chanson de Roland*, 11th cent.; ed. by Léon Gautier. 7th edition, Paris, 1885.
- Charron (P. le) [1541-1603], *Traité de la sagesse*, 1st edit. 1601.
- Chateaubriand (François René de) [1768-1848], *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*, 1849-1850.
- Chevalier au lion (Der Löwenritter)*, 1170-1175, by Chrestien de Troyes, ed. by W. Foerster. Halle, 1887.
- Chifflet (Father Laurent) [1598-1658].
- Chrestomathie* by K. Bartsch and A. Horning. Paris, 1887.
- Christine de Pisan [1363?-1431?], *Chemin de long estude*, 1402; edition quoted, by R. Püschel, Berlin, 1881.—*Trésor de la cité des dames*, ab. 1406; edition quoted, Paris, 1536.
- Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, 12th cent.; by Benoît, a



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<sup>1</sup> The edition quoted is that of the *Collection des Grands Écrivains de la France*, published by Hachette. While it might have seemed more rational in the case of well-known plays by Corneille, Molière, and Racine to quote act and scene, this plan proved impracticable; for in many cases the readings of the examples here given have been altered in modern texts to conform to modern usage, and the reader would be merely puzzled by looking up the reference in editions other than that quoted.

Allusion is made in the text to an edition of Corneille published in 1660. This edition was revised with extreme care by the author, and shows the influence of Vaugelas' *Remarques*, published in 1647 (see M. Marty Laveaux, in the edition quoted, vol. I. p. xlv.).

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<sup>2</sup> Also in P. Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French*, p. 1.

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<sup>1</sup> The figures given in quotations refer to paragraphs.

11

# INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

IN compiling the Index of Words and Phrases the following principles have been followed as closely as possible:—

1. Compound words joined by a hyphen have been treated as simple words with regard to alphabetical order. Compound phrases not so united have been classed either under the first component only: thus 'à cause de' is given under 'à,' 'brave homme' under 'brave'; or else, but rarely, under both the principal components: thus 'coup de hasard' is given both under 'coup' and 'hasard.'

2. Parts of verbs have in general been classed under the heading of the infinitive; but where they are of special phonetic or syntactic interest they are given separately, usually with a reference to the infinitive in its *modern* form, although this has been omitted occasionally as unnecessary.

3. Where reference is given to plurals or feminine forms of adjectives and substantives, these are dealt with in the text.

4. Homonyms are distinguished in general by reference to their Latin etymologies, printed in thick type, or to their grammatical functions or modern equivalents, or else by means of English translations.

5. References to separable particles are given both in the Index of Words and Phrases and the Index of Prefixes.

6. French words, prefixes, and suffixes are printed in Roman type; English in italics; Latin in thick type; other foreign words, prefixes, and suffixes in thick type, with an indication of their origin.

7. A dagger (†) is placed before obsolete forms and expressions. The dagger only applies to the word or phrase *immediately* in front of which it is placed.

8. The following alphabetical lists of words have not been included in the index:—

pp. 185-7. Lists of proper names of various origins.

pp. 451-3. Substantives and adjectives formed by 'improper derivation' from the 1 sing. present indicative of verbs, e.g. *un aboi* from *j'aboie*, *une adresse* from *j'adresse*.

p. 466. List of place-names derived from Cantiacum in various parts of France.

pp. 497-500. Learned compounds with particles borrowed from Latin, or formed on the Latin model.

p. 501. Borrowings from the Greek.

p. 502. Learned compounds of words on the Greek model.

pp. 503-7. Learned compounds with particles borrowed from the Greek, or formed on the Greek model.

pp. 511-5. Words of Germanic origin.

p. 516. Words borrowed from Modern English.

pp. 517-8. Words borrowed from Spanish.

pp. 519-21. Words borrowed from Italian.

pp. 522-3. Words borrowed from Oriental languages.

pp. 525-6. Words derived from Latin and retaining their original meaning.

pp. 544-5. Common words derived from the language (1) of sport, and (2) of navigation.

p. 553. Examples of synonyms (lines 14-19).

## A.

a (*letter*), 263, 608.  
 a (*pt. of avoir*), 92.  
 à, 67, 84<sup>1</sup>, 103, 216, 378-9, 386,  
 402, 411, 542, 743, 745-6, 748,  
 789-94.  
 à callfourchons, 794.  
 à cause de, 385.  
 à cause de ce que, 655.  
 à cause que, 387.  
 à ce faire, 654.  
 à ce que, 387, 655.  
 à cela près, 815.  
 à cette heure, 378.  
 à chevauchons, 794.  
 à contre-cœur, 438.  
 à contre-poil, 438.  
 à côté de, 379.  
 à cropetons, à croppetons, 378, 794.  
 à Dieu ne plaise, 620, 819.  
 à droite, 378.  
 à fin que (= afin que), 727.  
 a fortiori, 494.  
 à gauche, 378.  
 à genouillons, à genouillons, 378,  
 794.  
 à la dérobée, 378.  
 à la fois, 378.  
 à la française, 445.  
 à la légère, 445.  
 à moins que, 822.  
 à peine, 839.  
 à la prussienne, 378.  
 à la ronde, 378, 445.  
 à moins que, 725, 737.  
 à peu près, 815.  
 a posteriori, 494.  
 à présent, 378.  
 a priori, 494.  
 à raison, 378.  
 à reculons, 378, 794.  
 à sa personne, 636.  
 à saute-mouton, 378.  
 à son corps défendant, 636.  
 à tâtons, 378, 794.  
 à tort, 378.  
 à tue-tête, 378.  
 ab intestat, 494.  
 ab irato, 494.  
 abaissement, 487.  
 abaisser, 416-7.

abat-jour, 574.  
 abattas, 116 (*pt. of abattre*).  
 abattes, 116 (*pt. of abattre*).  
 abattoir, 480.  
 abattre, 416-7.  
 abbatial, 495.  
 abbé, 116.  
 Abbeville, 831.  
 tabé, 116.  
 abeille, 255, 517, 558.  
 †(il) abelit, 696.  
 †abet, 116.  
 abîme, 235.  
 aborde (*imper. and subs.*), 450.  
 aborder (*and pts. of*), 417, 450, 515.  
 abougrir, 429.  
 aboutir, 413.  
 aboutissant, (les) aboutissants (*partic.*  
*and subs.*), 448, 570, 772.  
 aboutissement, 487.  
 abreuvir, 480.  
 abri, 461.  
 †abrier, 462.  
 abriter, 461-2.  
 abrutir, 413.  
 †absenter, 687, 688.  
 †absols, -2, -t, 277<sup>2</sup>, 372.  
 absoudre (*and pts. of*), 277, 372.  
 absous, -te, 277, 372.  
 abstenir, 415.  
 acacia, 240.  
 acajou, 393.  
 acarien, 495.  
 accablement, 487.  
 accabler, 416, 511.  
 accidentel, 103, 472.  
 accoinçon, 414.  
 accoler, 413, 417.  
 accommodée, 382.  
 accompagner, 681.  
 †accordaille, 577.  
 accordailles, 473, 577.  
 accorder, 417.  
 accort, -e, 519.  
 accoste (*imper. and subs.*), 450.  
 accouder, 417.  
 accourir, 417.  
 accourir, 682, 736.  
 accoutumer, 417, 681.  
 accroissement, 487.  
 accroupir, 417.  
 accueil, 261.



- accusatoire, 498.  
 tacer, 579.  
 †(j)achate (= j'achète), 451.  
 tachater (= acheter), 481.  
 ache, 109.  
 Achéron, 607.  
 acheter, 118, 159; (*pls. of*), 350, 451.  
 achèvement, 487.  
 acier, 126 (*see also* tacer).  
 acompte, 417, 436-7.  
 aconitine, 475.  
 tacerder, 417.  
 acoup, 437.  
 acquérir (*and pls. of*), 363, 368.  
 taquêt, 363.  
 acquitter, 681.  
 acteur, 66; (= *past*, Mid. Fr.), 25.  
 tad = à, 103.  
 tad (= apud), 103, 794.  
 tad (*pl. of* avoir), 691.  
 ad libitum, 494.  
 ad patres, 494.  
 ad unguem, 494.  
 ad valorem, 494.  
 additionnel, 495.  
 adenas, 517.  
 †adenz (*prone*), 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 adieu, 437.  
 adjoindre, 416.  
 adjurer, *see* tajuier.  
 admettre, 412, 416, 714.  
 admirer, *see* tamirer.  
 †adonner (*for* s'adonner), 688.  
 adorer, 416.  
 adosser, 417.  
 adoucir, 413.  
 adoucissement, 487.  
 advenir (*and pls. of*), 416, 712.  
 advienne, 712.  
 †aemplir, 416-7.  
 affadir, 417.  
 affaiblir, 413, 693.  
 affaire, 239, 437.  
 (s')affermir, 708.  
 affirmer, 714.  
 (s')affliger, 719.  
 affres, 577.  
 affronter, 417.  
 affût, 417, 544.  
 †(il) aïert, 696.  
 afin de, 387; afin que, 387, 725, 727.  
 affoler, 413, 416-7.  
 affranchir, 413.  
 tafoler, 416.  
 taga! (= gare!), 388, 450.  
 †agare! (= gare!), 388, 450.  
 †agarer (= regarder), 388, 450.  
 âge, 235; âge de fer, 579; †âge doré, 579; †âge serré, 579.  
 agenouiller, 417.  
 agio, 461, 520.  
 agioter, 461.  
 agir par intérêt, peur, 610.  
 agnès, 446.  
 agnus-castus, 435.  
 agréable, 472, 705.  
 †agrément, 382.  
 agréer, 472.  
 agrément, 382.  
 agriculture, 497.  
 Agrippine, 605.  
 tagronelle, 462.  
 agrouette, 462.  
 ah! 387, 453.  
 ahurir, 417.  
 ai (*pl. of* avoir), 324.  
 aidable, 472.  
 aide, 234, 247, 452.  
 aidé (*pl. of* aider), 144.  
 aide-chirurgical, 434.  
 aide-de-camp, 402.  
 aider (*and pls. of*), 93, 100, 144, 336, 348, 684.  
 aidez, 144.  
 †aidier (= aider, *pls. of*), 93, 100, 144, 336, 348.  
 ale! 387.  
 aleul, -e, 155, 257, 260, 470.  
 †aieus, 155, 260.  
 aleux, 257, 260 (*see also* †aieus).  
 aiglat, 484.  
 aigle, 100, 122, 249, 484.  
 aiglon, 475.  
 aigre, -s, 100, 122, 241, 267, 272, 485.  
 aigre-doux, 589<sup>1</sup>.  
 aigret, 485.  
 aigreur, 241.  
 aigu, -ë, 122, 274.  
 aigue-marine, 404.  
 aiguille, 122.  
 ail, -s, aux, 152, 261; ne . . . un ail, 827.  
 alle, 157.

- alleron, 455, 475.  
 aille (*pt. of aller*), 712.  
 ailleurs, 376, 384.  
 tailleurs, 376.  
 taim, -s, -et (*pts. of aimer*), 334.  
 aimable, 457-8 (*see also* *tamable*).  
 aime (*pt. of aimer*), 66, 145.  
 aimée (*pt. of aimer*), 707.  
 aimer, 337, 457, 706, 745; (*pts. of*),  
     66, 107, 115, 145, 249, 328, 334.  
     349, 353, 355, 707; aimer mieux,  
     736, 737.  
 aimes (*pt. of aimer*), 107.  
 aime-t-il (*pt. of aimer*), 328.  
 tainçois (*before*), 796; tainçois que,  
     726.  
 aîné, 418, 612.  
 aînesse, 418.  
 tains (*before*), 418, 796.  
 ainsi, 384, 386, 836, 839; il en est,  
     il est, ainsi, 636.  
 tainné, 418.  
 tainz, 418.  
 tainz que (= avant que), 726.  
 aire (*subs. fem.*), 110.  
 taire (*subs. masc. (rare)*), 438.  
 ais, 124.  
 aise, 234.  
 taisil, 472.  
 taisné, 418.  
 tain (*pt. of aider*), 336.  
 taiudha (= aide), 91, 113.  
 taivier (= évier), 109.  
 tajoindre, 416.  
 ajouré, 459.  
 ajourner, 459.  
 tajarer (= adjurer), 416.  
 tal (= au), 151, 299, 300.  
 alambic, 191.  
 alarme, 239.  
 talbe, 151.  
 talberge (= auberge), 563.  
 Albigeois, 486.  
 †Alemagne, 93.  
 alençon, 446.  
 alénois, 486.  
 alentour, 378, 437; les alentours, 437.  
 †Alessandre, 124.  
 Alexandre Dumas père, fils, 611.  
 aligner, 413.  
 allaitement, 487.  
 allaiter, 681.  
 (les) allants et venants, 772.  
 allée (*subs.*), 449, 532.  
 Allemand, 606.  
 aller (*and pts. of*), 92, 322, 325<sup>1</sup>, 331<sup>1</sup>,  
     351-2, 388, 450, 558, 683, 686-9,  
     701, 703, 709, 712, 736, 768.  
 (s'en) aller (*pts. of*), 424, 689, 703,  
     709; t'a'ller (*and pts. of*), 424,  
     688-9.  
 aller à cheval, en bateau, par mer, 609.  
 aller droit, 377.  
 allons! 388, 450.  
 allumer, 105, 120, 410, 485.  
 allumette, 485.  
 taloe (= alouette), 510.  
 alors, 379, 384.  
 alouette, 485, 510.  
 Alpes, 232.  
 talque (= aliquem), 206, 209.  
 tals (= aux), 300.  
 taltel (= autel), 97.  
 taltre (= autre), -s, 92, 151, 202,  
     207, 267.  
 taltrui, 207.  
 aluminium, 495.  
 amabilité, 496.  
 tamable, -s (= aimable), 267, 496.  
 tamableté (= amabilité), 496.  
 amadou, 462.  
 amadouvier, 462.  
 amalgame, 249.  
 amant, 107, 334.  
 amarante, 243.  
 amatrice, 250.  
 amaurose, 501.  
 ambassadeur, -adrice, 254.  
 †ambaseor (*repl. by ambassadeur*),  
     254.  
 tambe, -s (*both*), 835.  
 †ambedui (*both*), 835.  
 tamé, -ez, -ons (= aimé, &c.), 115,  
     334.  
 âme, 471; en mon âme et conscience,  
     581, 645.  
 amender, 422.  
 amener, 417, 552.  
 amer, mère (= amarum, -a), 103,  
     157, 279.  
 tamer (= amaro, aimer), *and pts.*  
     *of*, 334.  
 tamerté, 463.  
 tamertor, 463.  
 amertume, 463.  
 tamet (= aimé), 115.

- tamette, 416.  
 ameublement, 455, 531.  
 ami, 123 (*see also* amie); (mon)  
   ami, 75<sup>1</sup>.  
 amical, -e, -aux, 280, 282.  
 amie, 102.  
 amincir, 417.  
 admirer (= admirer), 316.  
 amitié, 144.  
 ammoniac, 273.  
 ammoniacque, 272.  
 amoindrir, 417.  
 amont, 378.  
 amour, -s, 222.  
 amour, -s, 188, 232, 249, 610 (*see also* amour, amour); l'Amour, 184, 188, 232.  
 amovibilité, 496.  
 amphitryon, 446.  
 amulette, 235.  
 amour (= amour), 91.  
 an, -s, 139, 481, 834.  
 anagramme, 235.  
 aïeul, 418.  
 ancêtre, 224, 245, 418.  
 ancien, -ne, 278.  
 ancienneté, 232, 455, 482.  
 Andorre, 189.  
 andui (= *both*), 835.  
 âne, 464.  
 ânerie, 464.  
 ânesse, 464.  
 angarde, 418.  
 Angevin, 475.  
 Anglais, -e, 188, 486 (*see also* Anglois).  
 Angleterre, 184, 188, 232.  
 anglican, -e, 278.  
 Anglois (= Anglais), 160.  
 angoisse, 125<sup>1</sup>.  
 annales, 577.  
 année, 162, 481.  
 annuel, *see* tanvel.  
 anoblir, 412-3.  
 ânon, 475.  
 anse, 69.  
 antan, 418, 496.  
 tante (= tante), 444.  
 antérieur, -e, 279.  
 anthracite, 501.  
 anti-carie, 504.  
 anti-monarchique, 503.  
 anti-nature, 504.  
 anti-pape, 504.  
 antiquaille, 474.  
 †(il) annite, 696.  
 tanvel (= annuel), 109.  
 tanz (= ans), 136, 834.  
 taorer (= adorer), 416.  
 taost, 105.  
 taoust, 105, 146.  
 aout, 67, 105, 146.  
 apathie, 191.  
 tapel, 218.  
 tapeler, 218.  
 taperceu (*pl. of* apercevoir), 114.  
 apercevoir, (s')aperocevoir, *and pl. of*, 114, 416-7, 689, 714.  
 aperçu, 114.  
 apéritif, 547.  
 apétalie, 501.  
 apétisser, 429.  
 apiculture, 494.  
 aplomb, 417, 437.  
 apophonie, 504.  
 taporter, 416.  
 tapostole, 110.  
 tapostolie (*syn. of* apôtre), 110.  
 apostume, 235.  
 tapparail, 261.  
 †(il m')apparaît, 696.  
 apparaître (*and pl. of*), 682, 688-9, 696, 838; †apparaître, 688-9.  
 appaux, 261.  
 appareil, 261.  
 apparoir (*and pl. of*), 333, 368.  
 appartement, 159, 487.  
 appartenant, -e, 772.  
 appas (*pl. of* appât), 224, 225.  
 appât, 225, 544.  
 appauvrir, 416.  
 appel, 445 (*see also* tapel).  
 appeler, 445 (*see also* tapeler).  
 appendice, 240.  
 appert (*pl. of* apparoir), 333, 368.  
 appliquée, 695.  
 appoint, 417.  
 apporter, 412, 416-7, 551-2.  
 tappoyez, -ons (*pl. of* appuyer), 335.  
 apprendre, 417, 682.  
 apprenti, -s, 257-8.  
 †apprentif (= apprenti), 257, 259.  
 approcher, 40<sup>2</sup>, 417, 682, 684, 692.  
 approuvé, 773.  
 approvisionner, 417.

- appuyer (*pts. of*), 335.  
 après (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 241, 385-6, 427, 432, 437, 608, 746, 747, 814, 816; d'après, 386; taprès ce que = après que, 387, 816; après que, 387, 725.  
 après-dînée, 239, 241, 427, 437.  
 après-dîner, 240, 427, 437.  
 après-midi, 240, 241, 427, 437.  
 après-soupée, 239, 241, 437.  
 après-souper, 240, 437.  
 âpreté (*see* tapreté).  
 à-propos, 417, 437.  
 aquatique, 579.  
 aqueduc, 497.  
 arabe, 188, 447.  
 taragne, 481.  
 araignée, 481 (*see* taraignée).  
 taraignée, 100.  
 arbre, 92, 95, 189, 190, 557.  
 arbre généalogique, 557.  
 arbre de couche, 557.  
 tarbroie (= arbuste), 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 arc, 392.  
 Arc-en-Barrois, 402.  
 arc-en-ciel, 392, 394, 402.  
 tarcevesques (= archevêque), 300.  
 archevêché, 248.  
 archi-bête, 504.  
 archi-connu, -e, 504.  
 archidiaconé, 248.  
 archi-fou, 504.  
 archi-villain, 504.  
 arçon, 476.  
 ardeur, 248.  
 tarere (= arrière), 835.  
 argent comptant, 769.  
 argenterie, 464.  
 targentier, 464.  
 argentin, 474-5.  
 argot, 508, 523-4.  
 aristocratie, 191, 492.  
 Aristophanesque, 496.  
 arlénois, 486.  
 armée (*partic. and subs.*), 449.  
 armer, 685, 693.  
 armistice, 235.  
 armoiries, 577.  
 Arnaud, 485.  
 aromatique, 501.  
 arôme, 501.  
 arpent, 510.  
 (d')arrache-pied, 378.  
 arracheur, 479.  
 arrêter, 685, 719.  
 tarrence (= arroche), 516.  
 arrière (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 380, 385, 412, 429, 432-3, 437, 439, 816 (*see also* tarere).  
 arrière-ban, 439.  
 arrière-bouche, 429, 439.  
 arrière-boutique, 429, 439.  
 arrière-cour (-e), 394, 395, 412, 432, 438, 573, 816.  
 arrière-hief, 439.  
 arrière-garde, 439.  
 arrière-goutt, 439.  
 arrière-main (= *back of hand*, &c.), 429, 437.  
 arrière-main (= *crupper*) 429, 437.  
 arrière-neveu, 429, 439, 816.  
 arrière-pensée, 439.  
 arrière-port, 439.  
 arrière-saison, 439.  
 arriver (*and pts. of*), 514, 683, 838; il arrive, 720.  
 arroche, 516.  
 arrondir, 413.  
 arrose (*pt. of arroser*), 158.  
 arroser (*and pts. of*), 158, 480.  
 arrosoir, 480.  
 Ars-en-Ré, 402.  
 art, 240.  
 Artant, 485.  
 arthrite, 501.  
 arts et métiers, 406.  
 tas (= aux), 300.  
 †(il) aserit, 696.  
 (goutte) asiatique (= *sciaticque*), 493.  
 Asopus, 607.  
 tasparge, 149.  
 asperge, 149.  
 aspirant, -e (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 aspirateur, 495.  
 taspresse, 463.  
 tapreté (= âpreté), 463.  
 tasprior, 463.  
 assaillir, 417.  
 assassin, 446.  
 assoir (*and pts. of*), 374.  
 asser, 97, 193, 284, 384, 490, 809, 836.  
 (les) assiégés, 449.  
 assiettée, 481.  
 (un) associé, 449.  
 assoupir, 694.

assourdir, 413.  
 tassous, -e, tassout, -e (*pl. of ab-*  
*soudre*), 372.  
 assurément, 837.  
 assurer, 680; assurer la vie, &c., 610.  
 taster, 415.  
 astéroïde, 471.  
 astral, 382.  
 astre, 468.  
 tastro, 468.  
 tat (= *pl. of avoir*), 98.  
 athéisme, 496.  
 atlas, 446.  
 atout, 437.  
 tatraire (= attraire), 416.  
 attabler, 413, 416.  
 attaquer, 416, 551; s'attaquer à, 551.  
 attendu, 385, 773-4.  
 atterrer, 417.  
 atterrir, 413, 417.  
 attirer, 417, 552.  
 attraire, *see* tatraire.  
 attroupement, 455.  
 au, 300, 794, 805 (*see also* à, tal).  
 au cas que, 725.  
 au delà de, 385.  
 aube, 151.  
 auberge, 563.  
 aucun, 206, 207, 545, 615, 820, 825,  
 826.  
 tAudain, 222 *note*.  
 Aude, 222 *note*.  
 au-dessus de, 385.  
 augmenter, 693.  
 aujourd'hui, 376.  
 taulbe, 151.  
 aulx (*pl. of ail*), 152, 261.  
 aumône, 464.  
 aumônerie, 464.  
 taumonie, 464.  
 aumônier, 478.  
 Aunay, 482.  
 Aunoy, 482.  
 auparavant, 380, 797, 809.  
 auprès de, 385.  
 auquel, *see* lequel.  
 taür, 105, 127.  
 aurai, &c. (*pl. of avoir*), 322, 324,  
 365, 371.  
 Aurillac, 189.  
 aurore, 243.  
 aussi, 386, 839.  
 aussi longtemps que, 725.

autro-hongrois, 503.  
 autan, 517.  
 autant, 193; autant de, 777; autant  
 que, 725; d'autant plus . . . 836.  
 autel, 97, 531.  
 auteur, 250.  
 autodafé, 517.  
 automne, 235, 242.  
 autre, 151, 202, 206, 207, 581, 582  
 (*see also* taltre).  
 autre chose, 246.  
 autrefois, 380.  
 autrui, 207.  
 aux, 300, 794, 805.  
 tav (= apud), 308, 794.  
 aval, 547.  
 avalanche, 517.  
 avaler, 547.  
 avant (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 91,  
 379, 386, 411, 412, 418, 432, 437,  
 439, 608, 775-8, 795-8; (tpar)  
 avant, 809; tavant ce que, 387,  
 796; avant que, 387, 726, 796.  
 avant que de, 796.  
 avant-bras, 412, 438, 439.  
 avant-corps, 439.  
 avant-coureur, 439, 573.  
 avant-fort, 439.  
 avant-garde, 418.  
 avant-goût, 439.  
 avant-main (*m. = forequarters of*  
*horse*), 418, 437.  
 avant-main (*f. = flat of hand*), 418,  
 437, 439.  
 avant-poste, 439.  
 avant-projet, 418.  
 avant-scène, 412, 437, 439.  
 avant-toit, 439.  
 avant-train, 439.  
 Ave Maria, 494.  
 avec, 143<sup>1</sup>, 308, 377, 379, 545,  
 793-5; avec ce que, 655.  
 tavecque, avecques (= avec), 377,  
 795.  
 taveie (*pl. of avoir*), 354<sup>2</sup>.  
 taveine (= avoine), 141, 516.  
 taveir (= avoir), 113.  
 tavekes (= avec), 795.  
 avenir (*tas inf.*), 416; (*subs.*), 437.  
 (l')Avent, 608.  
 avenue, 416.  
 taveques (= avec), 795.  
 averse, 417, 437.

avertir, 718.  
 †(il) avespit, 606.  
 †avette (= abeille), 817.  
 aveugle, 382, 416.  
 aveuglés, 382.  
 aveuglement, 382.  
 avide, 802.  
 Avignon, 109.  
 aviser, 689.  
 †avoc (= avec), 308.  
 avocamer, 490.  
 †avoie (*pt. of avoir*), 354<sup>2</sup>.  
 avoine, 141<sup>1</sup>, 516.  
 avoir, 322, 324, 331<sup>1</sup>, 340, 343, 683, 691, 710, 749, 750, 774-6; (*pt. of*), 67, 95, 114, 319, 320, 322-4, 354<sup>2</sup>, 362, 365, 371, 592, 753, 779 (*see also* †avoir, †haveir); (*as suét.*), 451.  
 †avoir à (= en avoir à), 636.  
 avoir courage, faim, 610; †avoir loisir, permission, temps, 610; avoir peur, 719.  
 (n')avoir cure, garde, 820; †(n')avoir droit, poofir, soîn, 820.  
 avrai (*pt. of avoir*), 322, 371.  
 †avret (= habuerat), 753.  
 Avril, 608.  
 †avuec (= avec), 143<sup>1</sup>, 377, 794.  
 ayants cause, 406.  
 ayants droit, 406.  
 Aymard, 487.

## B.

b (*letter*), 263.  
 bachelier-es-lettres, -es-sciences, 402.  
 †bacin (= bassin), 124.  
 badaud, 486.  
 bague, 76.  
 baguenaude, 486.  
 bah! 388, 524.  
 baie, 40, 122.  
 baigner, 150 (*see also* †baignier).  
 †baignier, 100.  
 baignoire, 480.  
 bail (*pt. of baux*), 260.  
 bailleresse, 523, 480.  
 bailli, -s, 148, 257-8 (*see also* †baillif).  
 †baillif (= bailli), 147, 257, 259.  
 bain, 150.  
 bain-Marie, bain-marie, 401.  
 baise (*pt. of baiser*), 110.  
 (le) baiser, 451.  
 bal, 260.  
 balance (*suét.*), 419.  
 balançoire, 480.  
 †balanz (= balance, *sb.*), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 balayage, 468.  
 balayer, 468.  
 balayeuse, 480.  
 ballade, 516.  
 ballon, 476.  
 bamboche, 470, 519.  
 ban, 400, 435, 512.  
 banal, 472.  
 bancloche, 400, 435.  
 bande, 470.  
 bandelette, 485.  
 banderole, 470.  
 banlieue, 400, 435.  
 banneton, 475.  
 baptiser, 114.  
 barbajan, 402.  
 barbe de capucin, 404.  
 barbe-à-Jean, 403.  
 Barberousse, 405, 434.  
 barbiche, 470.  
 barbier, 477.  
 barbouiller, 419.  
 barbouquet, 419.  
 barbu, 482.  
 barème, 446.  
 barioler, 419.  
 baron, -s, 220.  
 barque, 412-4.  
 Bär-sur-Aube, 402, 607.  
 bas, -se, 276.  
 bas-bleu, 403.  
 basque (*as suét.*), 447.  
 basse-contre, 439.  
 basse-cour, 297, 541.  
 basse-taille, basses-tailles, 573.  
 bassin, 124.  
 bastide, 517.  
 bataille, 40<sup>2</sup>; bataille de Cannes, 578; bataillon, 78-9.  
 bâtarde, 530.  
 bateau-mouche, 434.  
 bâtiment (= *dwelling*), 528, 521.  
 bâtiment (= *ship*), 528-30.  
 bâtir, 528.  
 bâtisse, 469.  
 †batoler, 114.  
 batracien, 495.

†batre, 111.  
 battage, 468.  
 batteur, 468.  
 battoir, 480.  
 battre (*and pl. of*), 111, 367-8, 706.  
 baudruche, 470.  
 bavard, 455, 487.  
 Bavaois, 486.  
 bavaroise (*as subs.*), 447.  
 baver, 485.  
 bavette, 485.  
 baveur, 479.  
 baveux, 479.  
 bavoche, 490.  
 bayadère, 517.  
 Baygneux-les-Juifs, 401.  
 béant, 218.  
 beau (beaux, bel, belle), 28<sup>1</sup>, 67, 143, 153, 257, 266, 280-1, 398; (*subs. and adj.*), 445, 832 (*see also* bel).  
 beaucoup, 193-2, 284, 280, 781; beaucoup moins, 836.  
 beau-fils, 398, 399.  
 Beaulieu, 398.  
 beau-père, 398.  
 †beaus, 153, 257.  
 Beauvaisis, 486.  
 beaux-arts, 397.  
 bec, 477, 510.  
 bécasse, 484.  
 bécasseau, 484.  
 bec(-s)-de-cane, 404, 573.  
 bec-de-corbin, 404.  
 bec-de-lièvre, 404.  
 bêche-lisette, 441, 443.  
 bécune, 477.  
 bégayer, 491.  
 bègue, 491.  
 bel, -le, †belis, 28<sup>1</sup>, 142, 153, 257, 274, 280, 398, 414 (*see also* beau).  
 bel et bon, 153.  
 bel-esprit, 403.  
 béliér, 255.  
 bellâtre, 488.  
 Bellefont, 269.  
 Belle-Isle, 189, 398.  
 belle-mère, 398.  
 belle-sœur, 399.  
 Belleville, 189.  
 †bellezour, 97, 142, 283.  
 bellot, 485.  
 †belouse (= blouse), 159.  
 †bels (= beaux), 153, 257.

†belnette, 419.  
 †beluter (= bluter), 130, 159.  
 benedicite, 494.  
 bénédiction, 500.  
 †beneistre (*and pl. of*) (= binir), 357, 418.  
 †beneit, 418.  
 benêt, 418, 446.  
 bēni, -c, 357-8.  
 bénin, -igne, 159, 279.  
 bénir (*and parts of*), 357-8, 418, 841.  
 bénisse (*pl. of* bénir), 841.  
 bénit, -c, 357-8.  
 benoît, 418.  
 béquille, 471.  
 †ber, -s (= baron), 220-1.  
 †berbis, 112, 130.  
 bergamote, 517.  
 berger, -ère, 93, 144, 157, 461, 477.  
 bergeron, 461.  
 †bergier, 93, 144.  
 †berluette, 419.  
 Bernard, 441, 487.  
 bernard-l'ermite, 447.  
 †berouette, 159, 419.  
 berrichon, 475.  
 besace, 419.  
 †besaive, 419.  
 Besançon, 112.  
 besant, 510.  
 †besante, 419.  
 †besas, 419.  
 †bescuit, 419.  
 †besluette, 419.  
 besogne, 414.  
 besoigneux, 279.  
 besoin, 150, 279, 575.  
 †besoing, 150.  
 †besoncle, 419.  
 bestial, 261.  
 bestiaise, 456.  
 bestiaux, 261.  
 †besvue, 419.  
 bétail, 261.  
 bêtise, 483.  
 betterave, 434.  
 †beu (= bu, *pl. of* boire), 364.  
 †beuvrage, 130.  
 †bevons (= buvons), 160.  
 bēvue, 419.  
 bicarbonate, 497.  
 hiche, 255.

- bien (*adv. and prefix*), 68, 70, 77, 96,  
 160, 193, 284-5, 384, 411-2, 418,  
 432, 596; (*as interjection*), 388.  
 bien dire (*inf. and subs.*), 418.  
 bien faire (*inf. and subs.*), 418.  
 bien portant, -e, 772.  
 bien que, 725, 732.  
 bien-aimé, 406.  
 bien-être, 418.  
 bienfaisance, 418.  
 bienfaisant, 418.  
 bienfait, 406, 418.  
 bienfaiteur, 418, 458, 478.  
 bienheureux, 395, 406, 412, 418.  
 bienséance, 406.  
 bienséant, 406.  
 bienveillance, 406, 418.  
 bienveillant, 406, 418.  
 bienvenu, 406.  
 †bienveillant, 418.  
 bigarade, 517.  
 bigot, -e, 275, 464.  
 bijou, -x, 262, 460-1.  
 bijoutier, 460-1.  
 billard, 487.  
 billebarre, 439.  
 billion, 200.  
 binion, 510.  
 bisaleul, 419.  
 bisannuel, 500.  
 biscuit, 419.  
 biseauter, 462.  
 bishoff, 562.  
 bissac, 419.  
 bitter, 513.  
 bivac, 515.  
 bivalve, 500.  
 bivouac, 515.  
 blanc, 488, 490, 513, 832.  
 blanc de céruse, 395, 402.  
 blanc-bec, 397, 403.  
 blanc-de-cérusiers, 395.  
 blanchâtre, 488.  
 blanche-coiffe, 403.  
 blanche-raie, 403.  
 †blanchiment, 487.  
 blanchiment, 487.  
 blanchir (*and pte. of*), 457, 479, 490.  
 blanchissage, 454-7.  
 blanchisserie, 464.  
 blanchisseur, 457, 464, 479.  
 †blanchiment, 487.  
 blanchoyer, 487.  
 blasphématoire, 495.  
 blé, -s, 192, 242, 578.  
 blessure, 481.  
 bleu, -s, 281.  
 bleuâtre, 488.  
 blondasse, 469.  
 blondin, 475.  
 blouse, 159.  
 blquette, 419.  
 bluter, 130, 159.  
 †boche (= bouche), 140.  
 bœuf, -s, 67, 96, 143, 157, 255, 258,  
 275; bœuf gras, 157.  
 bohémien, 447.  
 †boi (*pte. of boire*), 440.  
 Boileau, 441, 844.  
 †Boi-l'iane (= Boileau), 440.  
 boire, 682, 707; (*pte. of*), 160, 324,  
 362, 364, 367; (*as subs.*), 451, 735.  
 bois, 191.  
 bolte, 413-4.  
 bolte-à-lettres, 402.  
 bolte-au-lait, 402.  
 boîtes à lait, 573.  
 Boivin, 440.  
 bon, -ne, 68, 69, 91, 96, 111, 140,  
 266, 268, 271, 278, 832-3; (*as  
 adv.*), 377; bon chien, &c., 613.  
 (*See also bonne, †bone.*)  
 bon l 388, 446.  
 bon Chrétien (*feat.*), 404.  
 bon fils, 613.  
 bon premier, bons premiers, 589.  
 bonasse, 469.  
 Bonaud, 485.  
 bon-bec, 405.  
 bonbon, 444.  
 bonbonnière, 478.  
 †bone, -s (= bonne), 267-8, 271.  
 bonheur, 146<sup>1</sup>, 397.  
 bonhomme, 397.  
 bonjour, 397.  
 bonne (*adj. and subs.*), 68, 445, 530  
 (*see also bon*).  
 (certificat de) bonne vie et mœurs,  
 589.  
 Bonnefont, 269.  
 bonne-fourchette, 578.  
 bonnement, 380.  
 bonneterie, 461.  
 bonnetier, 461.  
 Bonneval, 271.  
 bonsoir, 397.



bonté, -s, 66, 67, 93, 118, 140, 148, 190, 482-3, 575 (*see also* †bontet).  
 †bontet, -s, 93, 118, 148, 222, 257.  
 †bontes (= bontés), 148, 222, 257.  
 bord, 403, 414, 512.  
 bordeaux, 446.  
 borgne, -sse, 252.  
 bossu, 482.  
 banc, 255.  
 bouche, 140, 419, 439.  
 Bouche d'Or, 406.  
 bouchée, 481.  
 boucher, 464.  
 boucherie, 464.  
 †boucler, 477.  
 bouclier, 477.  
 boudier, 684.  
 †boudesouffler (= boursoffler), 440.  
 boudin, 440.  
 boudoir, 480.  
 †boudrai (*pl. of* bouillir), 365.  
 bouffissure, 481.  
 bouge, 510.  
 bougeoir, 480.  
 †bougette, 509<sup>1</sup>.  
 bougie, 446, 480.  
 †bouildrait, bouillrai (*pl. of* bouillir), 365.  
 bouillir (*and pl. of*), 343, 364<sup>1</sup>, 365, 368.  
 bouillon-blanc, 404.  
 boulaie, 482.  
 boulanger, 464.  
 boulangerie, 464-5.  
 †boule (= boulean), 510.  
 boule (*ball, pop. = tête*), 553.  
 boulean, -x, 482, 510.  
 boule-de-neige, 404.  
 boulet, 485.  
 boulette, 485.  
 bouleverser, 439.  
 boulu (*pop. = bouilli*), 364<sup>1</sup>.  
 †bouque, 419.  
 bouquet, 419.  
 bouquet de roses, 576.  
 bourde, 419.  
 bourdon, 255.  
 bourg, 459, 512.  
 bourgeois, 459, 486, 547.  
 bourg-épine, 401.  
 Bourg-la-Reine, 401.  
 Bourgogne, 184.  
 boursoffler, 440.

bous (*pl. of* bouillir), 369.  
 bout, 413, 512.  
 boute-en-train, 442.  
 bouteille, 471.  
 boute-roue, 239.  
 boutique, 510.  
 †(ne . . . un) bouton, 827; *bouton* d'argent, bouton d'or, 403.  
 bouvillon, 475.  
 bouvreuil, 470.  
 bovine, 475.  
 †brace (= brasses), 125.  
 braie, 510.  
 branchage, 467.  
 branche, 414.  
 branchu, 482.  
 brandiller, 490.  
 branle-bas, 398, 574.  
 bras, 126, 222, 439; bras à bras, 379.  
 brasse, 125.  
 bravache, 469.  
 brave, 519, 552, 833; brave homme, homme brave, 833<sup>1</sup>.  
 †brax, 126, 222.  
 †brebiete (= *little sheep*), 459.  
 brebis, 28<sup>1</sup>, 112, 130, 243, 255, 459, 463<sup>1</sup>, 558.  
 †brebisette (= *little sheep*), 459.  
 †bredeler (= bredouiller), 490.  
 bredi-breda, 444.  
 bredouiller, 490.  
 bref, brève, 274-5, 832.  
 †brefve, 275.  
 brelan, 462.  
 brequin, 441.  
 Bretagne, 463<sup>2</sup>.  
 breuil, 510.  
 breuvage, 130.  
 brève, 275 (*see also* bref).  
 (de) bric et (de) broc, 444.  
 bric-à-brac, 444.  
 briève, 271.  
 brigande, 250.  
 brillante, 475.  
 brin à brin, 379.  
 brioche, 470.  
 bronchite, 501.  
 (une) brossée, 450.  
 brouette, 159, 419.  
 brouillas, 468.  
 brouillon, 475.  
 broussaille, 227, 473, 577.

bru, 251.  
 bruire (*and pls. of*), 374.  
 bruisant (*pl. of bruire*), 374.  
 bruissement, 374.  
 bruit, 461.  
 brun, -e, 832.  
 brun foncé, 591.  
 brunâtre, 488.  
 brunir (*and pls. of*), 458.  
 brunissoir, 458, 480.  
 brun-marron, 591.  
 brutal, -aux, 282.  
 brute, (*adj.*) 275, (*subs.*) 413.  
 †bruyant (*pl. of bruire*), 374.  
 bruyère, 510.  
 bu (*pl. of boire*), 364; être bu, -e  
 (*and pls. of*), 707.  
 buande, 486.  
 buanderie, 486.  
 buandier, 486.  
 †bucle, 579.  
 budget, 509.  
 †buer (= bona hora), 3<sup>eo</sup>.  
 †buie, 40<sup>s</sup>.  
 buis, 74.  
 buisson, 477.  
 buissonnier, 477.  
 †buleter (= bluter), 130.  
 Bulgarie, 463<sup>s</sup>.  
 bulle, 247.  
 †buof, 96.  
 bure, 403, 447.  
 bureau, 403, 447, 503.  
 bureaucratie, 503.  
 †buvande (= buande), 486.  
 †buveor, -s, 220.  
 †buvère, 220.  
 buveur, 220<sup>s</sup>.  
 buvons (*pl. of boire*), 160.

## C.

ça (= cela), 309, 647.  
 ça (= eooohao, *adv.*), 309; (*used  
 as interj.*), ça ! or ça ! 389.  
 †caable (= tcaable), 511.  
 cabale, 522.  
 caban, 518.  
 †cable, 511.  
 cabosser, 419.  
 cabri, 517.  
 cachemire, 446.  
 cacheter (*pls. of*), 350.

cadenas, 517.  
 cadet, 612.  
 †cadhuna (= chacun), 91, 113.  
 cadran, 537-8.  
 cadre, 414.  
 caduc, -uque, 273.  
 Caen, 68.  
 cafardise, 483.  
 café, 461, 522; café chantant, 772.  
 café-concert, 434, 435.  
 cafetier, 461.  
 cagot, 464.  
 cagoterie, 464-5.  
 cailler, 409, 420.  
 caillou, 262, 461.  
 caillouter, 461.  
 caisse, 413, 517, 551, 562.  
 caisson, 476.  
 cal, 260.  
 calèche, 516.  
 calembour, 419.  
 calembourdaine, 419.  
 calembredaine, 419.  
 calepin, 446.  
 calicot, 446.  
 califourchons, 419, 794.  
 †calimaçon, 419.  
 calorifère, 497.  
 calotin, 475.  
 (plusieurs) Cambridges, 572.  
 camélia, 240.  
 camouflet, 419.  
 camp, 551.  
 campagne, 251.  
 canaille (*subs. and adj.*), 447, 456.  
 canapé-lit, 436.  
 canari, 446.  
 †çangle (= sangle), 139.  
 canin, 579.  
 canne-à-épée, 402.  
 cannibale, 447.  
 cantatrice, 254.  
 cantinier, 250<sup>s</sup>.  
 canton, 476.  
 cap, 189, 517.  
 capable, 802.  
 capitale (*subs. and adj.*), 180, 445,  
 530.  
 capitule, 563.  
 caput mortuum, 494.  
 car, 126, 263.  
 carafe, 476.  
 carafon, 476.

carbonade (*pop.* = carbonate), 493.  
 carbonate, 493.  
 †chercher (= chercher), 149.  
 cardinal, (*adj.*) 193, (*subs.*) 529.  
 carême, 233.  
 carguer, 517.  
 carnaval, 260.  
 carolus, 446.  
 carpe, 484.  
 carpeau, 484.  
 carrefour, 94.  
 †carroche, 470.  
 carrosse, 470.  
 cartel, 153.  
 carte-lettre, 434.  
 Carthaginois, 486.  
 cartilage, 240.  
 cartouche, 247.  
 casque en tête, 560.  
 casquette, 485.  
 casse-tête, 574.  
 Caucase, 189.  
 candal, 493, 498.  
 cave, 484.  
 caveau, 482.  
 ce *family*, derived from *eoosiste*,  
*&c.*, *dem. pron.* (including forms  
 in *icest*-, *cest*-, *cist*-), 308-13, 647,  
 656-7.  
 ce (= *eoosihoo*, *neut. pron.*), 309-11,  
 387, 613, 647, 652-7, 663, 744,  
 783, 786-7.  
 c'est . . . , 652-3, 786-7; ce sont  
 . . . , 652-3, 786-7; ce n'est pas que,  
 726; c'en est fait, 636; ce faisant,  
 655; †(en) ce faisant, 654; ce  
 nonobstant, 383.  
 océans, 139, 806.  
 ceci, 309, 647, 656.  
 céder (*and pts. of*), 350-2, 532.  
 ceignez (*pt. of ceindre*), 127<sup>1</sup>.  
 ceinture, 106.  
 ceinturon, 475.  
 cel *family* (= *eoosillum*, *&c.*, in-  
 cluding *ticel*, *ticeux*, *†cel*, *celui*;  
 †*cel*, *celle*; *ceux*, *†cil*, *&c.*), 308  
 -9, 311-3, 647-652.  
 †*cel*, -s, 311-3.  
 cela, 82-3, 309, 310, 647, 654-6.  
 céladon, 446.  
 †cele, 311.  
 †celei, 311.  
 †celi, 311.

celle(-s)-ci, 312, 313, 647.  
 celle(-s)-là, 312, 313, 647.  
 celui, *see cel family*.  
 (comme) celui, 650, 651.  
 celui-ci, 181, 312, 313, 647, 650.  
 celui-là, 181, 312, 313, 647, 649-50.  
 cendrillon, 475.  
 †cengle (= sangle), 139.  
 cent, -s, 197, 599, 600; deux, *&c.*  
 cents, 199, 600.  
 †cent et huit, 407.  
 †cent et vingt et sept, 407.  
 cent huit, 407.  
 cent vingt-sept, 407.  
 †centain, 474.  
 centaine, -s, 205<sup>2</sup>, 474.  
 cent-garde, -s, 404.  
 centième, 204.  
 centimètre, 502.  
 cent-Suisse(-s), 405.  
 cent-un, 407.  
 cependant, 383, 386, 655.  
 †cercele (= sarcelle), 129.  
 †chercher (= chercher), 122, 129,  
 149.  
 †cherchier (= chercher), 348.  
 cercle, 122.  
 cercueil, 261.  
 cerf, 255-7.  
 cerf-volant, 404.  
 cerisaie, 482.  
 cerise, 110, 243.  
 cerisier, -s, 477, 482.  
 †cers (= ceris), 257.  
 certain, -s, -e, -es, 209, 474, 823;  
 (être) certain, (il est) certain, 714.  
 certainement, 837.  
 certes, 377, 384.  
 cerveau, 553.  
 cervelle, 553.  
 †cervoise, 93, 510.  
 ces, *see ce family*.  
 cessant, -e (*pt. of cesser*), 772.  
 cesser (*and pts. of*), 421, 683, 688,  
 772.  
 †cest *family*, *see ce family*.  
 †cestei, 310.  
 †cesti, 309, 310.  
 †cestui, 309-13.  
 †cestui-ci, 313.  
 †cestui-là, 313.  
 cet, -tte, *see ce family*.  
 †cette(-s)-ci, 312-3.

- †cette(-s)-là, 312-3.  
 †cettui, 310, 312.  
 †cettuy-ci, 312, 313.  
 †ceus (= ceux), 312; †ceus de, 651.  
 ceux, 311, 312, 650; ceux de, 651.  
 ceux-ci (*pl. of celui-ci*), 312.  
 ceux-là (*pl. of celui-là*), 312.  
 †cez (= ces), 309, 310.  
 †chaable (= †cable), 511.  
 chacal, 260.  
 †chacier (= chasser), 144.  
 chacun, -e, 206-7, 209, 581-2.  
 †chacine (= chaine), 146.  
 chafand, 462.  
 †chafaut, 462.  
 chai, 510.  
 chaîne, 146.  
 chalnon, 475.  
 chair, 149, 635.  
 chaire, 550, 562.  
 chaise, 550, 562.  
 Chaise-Dieu, 401.  
 chaland, 462.  
 †chaland, 462.  
 †chalciée (= chaussée), 144.  
 †chalcier (= chausser), 100, 144.  
 chalet, 517.  
 chaleur, 241.  
 chaleureux, 108.  
 chaloir (*pl. of*), 103, 696.  
 Châlons-sur-Marne, 402.  
 †chalt (*pl. of chaloir*), 103.  
 chamade, 517.  
 chambellan, 129, 462, 512.  
 †chamberlenc (= chambellan), 129.  
 chambre, 119, 460, 462.  
 chambre-à-coucher, 402.  
 chambrillon, 460, 462.  
 chameau, -elle, 255.  
 champ, 122, 139, 231, 551.  
 champagne, 531.  
 Champagne, 109, 184.  
 champion, 476.  
 †chançon (= chanson), 110, 125.  
 chanfrein, 438.  
 changement, 455.  
 changer, 40<sup>2</sup>, 680 (*see also* †chan-  
 gier).  
 †changier (= changer, *pl. of*), 348.  
 chanoine, -sse, 110, 252, 484.  
 †chanonie (= chanoine), 110.  
 chanson, 110, 125.  
 †(je) chant, &c., 326.  
 chanta, 95.  
 chantai, 67.  
 chantant, †chantanz, 770, 772.  
 †chantat, 95.  
 (il) chante, ils chantent, 91, 147,  
 216.  
 (j'ai) chanté, 91, 348, 408.  
 †chanteur (= chanteur), 224.  
 †chante-je, chanté-je, 326, 327.  
 †chanteor (= chanteur), 93, 224.  
 chanter (*and pl. of*), 91, 95, 98, 139,  
 147, 318-31, 343-50, 682, 770.  
 chanter faux, 377.  
 chanter juste, 446.  
 chanterai, 322, 408.  
 chanterais, 408.  
 †chantère (= chanteur), 224.  
 chantes-tu, 326.  
 †chantet (*pl. of chanter*, = cantat),  
 91, 147, 328.  
 chante-t-on, 328.  
 chanteur, -euse, 224, 254 (*see also*  
 †chanteor).  
 †chantez (= chantés), 91, 98.  
 chantonner, 490.  
 chantre, 224.  
 chanvre, 249.  
 chapeau, 153, 257-9, 557.  
 †chapeaus, 153.  
 †chapel (= chapeau), 153, 257, 259.  
 chapelet, 153.  
 chapitre, 563.  
 chaque, 206, 207, 209.  
 †char (= carnem, chair, *flesh*), 149.  
 char (= carrum, *car*), 227, 491, 510.  
 char-à-bancs, 397, 399, 402, 791.  
 charbon, -s, 219, 475.  
 charbonnage, 454, 456, 467.  
 charbons (*nom. sing., and acc. plur.*  
*of charbon*), 219.  
 chardonneret, 485.  
 charger, 118, 680.  
 †chargier (= charger), 118.  
 charitable, 457, 472.  
 (des) charités, 531.  
 charivari, 410.  
 charlatan, 464.  
 charlatanerie, 464.  
 Charlemagne, 612.  
 Charles-Quint, 163, 835.  
 charme (*Kornbäum*), 474.  
 charmille, 474.  
 charnel, 472.

charnier, 478.  
 charnu, 482.  
 †charre (*pl. of char, car*), 227.  
 charretier, 159.  
 charretill, 472.  
 charrier, 491.  
 charroyer, 491.  
 charrue, 123, 145, 147, 468.  
 †charrague (= charrue), 123, 145, 147.  
 †chartier (= charretier), 159.  
 †chascun, 207.  
 chässe, 118, 551, 563.  
 chasse à courre, 340.  
 chasser, 144, 537-8.  
 chasse-rage, 239.  
 chasseresse, 253, 480.  
 †chastel (= château), 98.  
 chat, -te, 40<sup>2</sup>, 77, 147, 254, 255.  
 châtain, 281, 447.  
 châtain-clair, 436<sup>1</sup>.  
 château, 77.  
 châteaubriand, 446.  
 Château-Briant, 401.  
 Châteauneuf, 189, 398.  
 chat-huant, 398.  
 †châtiment (= châtiment), 382, 487.  
 châtier, 487.  
 châtiment, 382, 487.  
 chaton, 475.  
 †chauce, -s (= chausse), 194<sup>1</sup>.  
 †chaucier (= chausser), 100.  
 chaud, 413.  
 chaud et froid, 406.  
 †Chaudesfont, 269.  
 chaud-froid, 406.  
 †chauf (= chauve, *m.*), 273.  
 chauffage, 468.  
 chauffer, 468.  
 chauffoir, 480.  
 chauler, 461-2.  
 chaussé, *see* †chance.  
 chaussée, 144.  
 chausser, 100 (*see also* †chalcier).  
 chausse-trapes, 573.  
 †chaut (*pl. of chaloir*), 103; †(il me) chaut, 696.  
 chauve, 273.  
 chauve-souris, 397.  
 chauvin, 446.  
 chaux, 152, 460, 462.  
 Chaux-de-Font, 269.

chavirer, 440.  
 †chodeir (= choir, *and pl. of*), 338, 365.  
 †chedrai (*pl. of* †chodeir), 338, 365.  
 chef, 100, 122, 157, 392, 433, 558.  
 chef-lieu, chefs-lieux, 392, 433, 434.  
 573.  
 chemin, 77, 104; chemin faisant, 768-9; chemin roulant, 772.  
 chemin-de-fer, 402.  
 chemise, 28<sup>1</sup>.  
 chënaie, 482.  
 chenal, 104, 422.  
 chenapan, 515.  
 †chenau, 152.  
 chëne, 190.  
 chenil, 472.  
 chenille, 471.  
 †cheoir (= choir), 338, 340, 365.  
 cheptel, 118.  
 cher, 122, 144, 279.  
 chercher, 122, 129, 348 (*see also* †cercher *and* †cerchier).  
 †cherrai (*pl. of* choir), 338, 365.  
 chërubin, 522.  
 †chesnin, 579.  
 †chesque (= chaque), 207.  
 †chet (*pl. of* choir), 375.  
 †chetel (= cheptel), 118.  
 chëtif, -ive, 557; lasse chëtive! 388.  
 cheval, -aux, 67, 104, 122, 151-2, 242, 255-7.  
 cheval de frise, 446.  
 chevalerie, 108, 461, 463-4.  
 chevalier, 108, 144, 461, 463-4, 478.  
 (une) chevauchée, 449.  
 (à) chevauchons, 794.  
 chevan-léger, 151.  
 †chevaux, 152 (*see* cheval).  
 †chevaus (*pl. of* cheval), 257.  
 chevaux, *see* cheval.  
 †chevax (*abbrev. for* chevaux), 152, 257.  
 †chevel, -s (= cheven), 154, 257-9, 262.  
 chevelu, 482.  
 chevelure, 481.  
 †chevestre, 104.  
 cheven, -x, 154, 257-9, 262.  
 †cheveus, 154.  
 chëvre, 255.  
 chèvre-feuil (*gen. written* chèvre-feuille), 226.

- chevreuil, -s, 261, 470.  
†chevreul, 261.  
†chevreux, 261.  
†chevruel (= chevreuil), 261.  
chez, 385-6, 437.  
chez-sol, 437.  
†chef (= chef), 100, 122.  
chien, -ne, 102, 145, 161, 231, 254, 255, 456, 472.  
chiennaille, 456.  
†chier (= cher), 122.  
chimique, 495.  
chinois, 188.  
chiourme, 521.  
choir (*and pl. of*), 338, 340, 365, 375.  
Choisy, 189.  
†chol (= chou), 262.  
choléra, 240.  
chose, 158, 205, 206, 246, 663 (*see also* †cosa); chose fâcheuse, 613.  
chou, -x, 262, 392-3, 433.  
chou-fleur, 191, 392, 393, 433-4-6.  
†chrestien (= chrétien), 110.  
†chrestien (= chrétien), 100, 102, 145.  
chrétien, 474 (*see also* †chrestien, †chrestien, †christian).  
Christ, 607.  
†christian (= chrétien), 91.  
christianisme, 496.  
chronique, 479.  
chroniquer, 479.  
chroniqueur, 479.  
chrysolite, 238.  
chuchoter, 524.  
chut! 524.  
ci, 313.  
ci-après, 816.  
ciel, cieus, 121, 154, 226, 257, 260, 608; ciel et terre, 608; ciel! 388.  
†ciels (= cieus), 226, 260.  
†cieus (= cieus), 154.  
cieus (*pl. of* ciel), 257, 260.  
cigare, 238.  
ci-inclus, 773.  
ci-joint, 773.  
†cil (= celui, *also* ceux), 309, 311, 312, 313, 651, 757.  
†ciller (= siller), 544.  
cimeterre, 238.  
†cinc (= cinq), 194, 195.  
†cinc cens (= cinq cents) 601.  
†cincme (= cinquième), 202.  
cinq, 122, 126, 129, 162, 194, 195, 205; cinq mille, 407.  
cinquante, 197.  
†cinq (= cinq), 198.  
cinquième, 205.  
†cinquiesme, 203.  
†cinquime, 203.  
circumpolaire, 415.  
cire, 121.  
cisaille, 473.  
†(uns) ciseaux, 577.  
ciseaux, 194<sup>1</sup>, 557.  
†cist, 91, 309-312 (*see also* *ce family*).  
cité, 559.  
†civé, 462.  
civet, 462.  
civil, -e, 280.  
†ciz, 652.  
clabaud, 486.  
claie, 510.  
clair, -e, 121, 157, 279; (*use as adv.*), 377, 446.  
Clairaud, 485.  
Clairaut, 485.  
clair-obscur, 398, 589<sup>1</sup>.  
clairsemé, 406.  
clairvoyant, 406.  
†clamer (*pl. of*; = crier), 334.  
claque, 247.  
claqueter, 490.  
clarté, 482.  
claude, 446.  
Claude Lorrain, le Lorrain, 606.  
clavicule, 495.  
clé, -s, clef, -s, 115, 148, 257, 259.  
Clément Marot, 157, 163.  
(la) Cléopâtre, 605.  
†cler (= clair), 121.  
clerc, 611.  
Clermont, 398.  
cliché (*subs.*), 450.  
†clo (*imper. of* clore), 440.  
cloaque, 249.  
†clo-mes-oeuls (= clos-mes-yeux), 440.  
clore (*and pl. of*), 440, 536.  
clôture, 481.  
clou, -s, 262.  
†ço (= ce), 655 (*see also* *ce family*).  
†coc (= coq), 148.

- cochon, 355.  
 coco, 517.  
 †code (= comde), 117.  
 †code (= queue), 98.  
 †coé (= queue), 98.  
 Cœur-de-Lion, 405, 434.  
 coffre-fort, coffres-forts, 396, 398, 573.  
 cognac, 446.  
 coi, -te, 111, 280, 281.  
 †cole (= coite), 281.  
 coiffier, 680.  
 coiffure, 481.  
 coin, 70, 121, 414, 462; coin de feu, 404.  
 †coist (*pl. of cuire*), 124.  
 col, -a, 257, 259, 262, 413, 481, 550, 562 (*see also cou*).  
 †colchier (= coucher), 93, 100, 420.  
 †colediz (= coulis), 277.  
 †coleice (= couliasse), 277.  
 †coleis, †coleiz (= coulis), 277, 469.  
 †coler (= couler), 105.  
 colidor (*vulg.* = corridor), 129.  
 colimaçon, 419.  
 Colin-Maillard, 434.  
 collée, 481.  
 collège, 67, 531.  
 collégial, -e, 282.  
 collet-monté, 404.  
 colombe, 484.  
 colombelle, 484.  
 †colone (= colonne), 118.  
 colonne, 118, 413.  
 †colp (= coup), 128, 257.  
 †colpes (= *faults, &c.*), 117.  
 colporter, 439, 440.  
 †cols (*pl. of coup*), 257.  
 †cols (*pl. of cou*), 154.  
 combattre, 686.  
 combien, 384, 777.  
 comble, 119.  
 combler, 119.  
 comète, 238.  
 comme, 386, 725; comme celui, 650; comme si, 725, 735.  
 commencer (*and pl. of*), 325<sup>1</sup>, 684, 746.  
 comment, 382.  
 †commenz (*pl. of commencer*), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 commère, 412, 420, 439.  
 commettre, 412, 420.  
 commode, 382.  
 commodément, 382.  
 commun, -e, 69, 91, 269.  
 communal, 381.  
 communard, 455.  
 †communel, 381.  
 †communément, 381.  
 communément, 381.  
 communiqué (*subs.*), 450.  
 compagne, 251.  
 compagnon, 224, 251, 252, 420, 476.  
 †compaing (= compagnon), 252.  
 comparaison, 476.  
 compare, 519.  
 †compartement (= compartiment), 487.  
 compartiment, 487.  
 compère, 412, 420, 439.  
 complet, -ète, 275.  
 complies, 608.  
 comporter, 412.  
 comprendre, 548-9, 773.  
 (non-)compris (*pl. of comprendre*), 773.  
 compromettre, 420.  
 comptable, 473.  
 compter, 420.  
 comte, -a, -sse, 140, 220, 252.  
 comté, 248.  
 concernant (*prep.*), 449.  
 conclure (*and pl. of*), 367, 409.  
 concret, -ète, 275.  
 condensateur (*subs. and adj.*), 445.  
 condenseur, 480.  
 conduire (*and pl. of*), 367, 554.  
 †coneu (*pl. of connaître*), 364.  
 conférencier (*vb.*), 496.  
 †confes, -se, 276.  
 confesser, 714.  
 confiances, 575.  
 confier (*pl. of*), 344.  
 confire, 409.  
 confiture, 528.  
 conformée, 382.  
 conformément, 382.  
 confrère, 412, 439.  
 confus, -e, 382.  
 confusément, 382.  
 connaissable, 458, 472.  
 connaître (*and pl. of*), 160, 324, 364, 367, 458, 472.  
 connétable, 400, 541.  
 †connoître (= connaître), 160.  
 †concois (= connais), 324.

(un) conquérant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.

†cons (= comte), 220.

conseil, -s, 141, 155, 257, 399.

conseil-général, 399.

conseiller (*subs.*), 399, 477.

conseiller (*vb.*) (*see* †conseillier).

conseiller-général, 399.

†conseillier (*vb.*), 100.

†conservat, 92.

conservateur, -atrice, 254.

†consens, †consecus (= conseils), 155, 257.

consonnante (*partic. and subs.*), 448.

constamment, 162, 270, 381.

†constamment, 381.

constant, -e, -s, 270, 281, 380, 381.

†constamment, 381.

†constamment, 381.

(il) conste (*pt. of conster*), 696.

†conte (= comte), 140.

contenir, 409.

(être) content, 719.

contier, 420.

contester, 716.

contigu, -ë, 274.

continuer, 746.

†contra (= contre), 92.

contraindre, 746.

contraire, 477.

contrat, 259.

contravention, 498.

contre (*prep. and prefix*), 411, 419, 420, 432, 438, 439, 452, 798 (*see also* †contra).

contre-accusation, 420, 439.

†contre-aimer, 419, 420.

contre-allée, 419-20, 439.

contre-appel, 420, 439.

contre-approche, 239.

contre-assaillir, 419.

contre-balancer, 420.

contre-basse, 439.

(à) contre-cœur, 420, 438.

contre-coup, 439.

contre-dater, 407.

contredire, 410, 419, 684.

contre-épreuve, 332, 439.

contre-faire, 420.

contre-indication, 439.

contre-jour, 438.

contre-latte, 239.

contremander, 419.

contre-ordre, 439.

contre-peser, 420.

contre-plantation, 420.

contre-poids, 439.

(à) contre-poil, 438.

contre-point, 439.

contre-poison, contrepoinçon, 412, 419, 420, 438.

contre-révolution, 420.

contre-révolutionnaire, 420.

contrescarpe, 439.

contre-saing, 439.

contresens, 412, 420, 438.

contresigner, 407, 420.

contretemps, 438.

contrevenir, 687.

contrevient, 438.

contumace, contumax, 281.

†conu (*pt. of connaître*), 364.

convenable, 473.

convenir (*and pt. of*), 697, 714, 737.

(il) convient, 697, 737.

convier, 410.

copain, 224, 252.

†cople (= couple), 118.

coq, -s, 45, 76, 255, 257, 258 (*see also* †coc).

(un) coq-à-l'âne, 443.

coquette, 464.

coquetterie, 464.

coquin, 464.

coquinerie, 464.

cor, 226-7.

corail, -aux, 260.

corbeau, 112.

†corber (= courber), 117<sup>1</sup>.

Corbières, 232.

corbleu, 401.

corde, 475.

cordeau, 191.

cordieu, 401.

cordou-bleu, 403.

cormoran, 462.

†corn (= cor), 226.

corne, 227, 413, 533.

cornelle, 462, 471<sup>1</sup>.

cornemuse, 434.

cornet, 533.

cornette, 247.

corniche, 470, 520.

cornichon, 475.

†cornille, 462, 471<sup>1</sup>.



- cornouille, 471.  
 †corone (= couronne), 105.  
 corporel, 493.  
 corps, 76, 121, 222, 226, 485, 557, 635-6 (*see also* †cors); à son corps défendant, 636, 769; corps d'armée, 557; corps de bâtiment, 557; corps de garde, 402, 557; corps de pompe, 557; corps à corps, 379.  
 corps-Dieu, 401.  
 corridor, 129.  
 †corroçons, 97.  
 †cors (= corps), 121, 222, 226, 485, 635.  
 Corse, 189.  
 corset, 485.  
 †corteis, -e (= courtois, -e), 263-9.  
 †cortois (= courtols), 268.  
 corvéable, 472.  
 †cos (= coq), 45, 148, 257.  
 †cosa (= chose), 91.  
 cosaque, 516.  
 †cosdre (= coudre), 372, 409.  
 †cosre (= coudre), 372.  
 †cost (= côte), 149.  
 †Costances, 117.  
 †costel (= coteau), 149.  
 côte, 67, 149.  
 côté, 481.  
 coteau, 149.  
 cotillon, 462, 475.  
 coton et laine, 406.  
 coton-laine, 406.  
 cotte, 462, 512.  
 cou, -s, 154, 257, 259, 262, 392, 550, 562 (*see also* col).  
 †cou (= ce, eooohoo), 309.  
 couardise, 483.  
 couchant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 coucher, se coucher, 93, 409, 420, 695 (*see also* †couchier).  
 †couchier (= coucher), 93, 100, 420.  
 coucou, 444.  
 coude (= cubitum), 117.  
 †coude (= oanda, queue), 98.  
 coudraie, 483.  
 coudre (*and pls. of*), 372, 409.  
 coudrier, 474.  
 coudrille, 474.  
 couler (*and pls. of*), 105, 335, 337, 349, 469.  
 couleur de feu, 243; couleur violette, 447.  
 coulis, -se (*obsolete as adj.; with different senses as subs.*), 277, 469.  
 coup, 76, 128, 192, 257, 259, 561; coup de hasard, 561.  
 couper court, 377.  
 coupeur, 479.  
 couple, 118; (*m. and f.*), 245.  
 coupon, 475.  
 cour, 433, 541.  
 courage, -s, 551, 574.  
 courageusement, 835.  
 courbatu, 406.  
 courbature, 496.  
 courber, 112, 117<sup>1</sup>, 551-2.  
 courçon, 462.  
 courir, 551, 683, 684, 686, 689, 736; (*pls. of*), 340, 341, 363-4, 371, 693; courir vite, 377; †se or †s en courir (*and pls. of*), 689, 693.  
 courir risque, 610.  
 courir sus, 431.  
 couronne, 105, 161.  
 courre, 340.  
 cours, 222, 363, 450, 553.  
 course, 363, 553.  
 †court (= cour), 547.  
 court (*adj.*), 462, 832; (*adv.*), 377.  
 †court-battu (= courbatu), 406.  
 courtil, 472.  
 courtois, -e, 268, 269, 276, 463, 486.  
 courtoisie, 463.  
 cous (*pl. of col, cou*), 154, 262.  
 †cousdre (= coudre), 372, 409.  
 cousin, -e, 252.  
 Coutances, 117.  
 coûté (*pl. of coûter*), 779.  
 couteau, 484.  
 coutelas, 468.  
 coûter (*and pls. of*), 684, 779; coûter trône et vie, 610.  
 coutil, 472.  
 couturier, -ère, 251.  
 couvalson, 476.  
 couvent, 531.  
 couver, 476.  
 couvert, 361.  
 couvre-chef, 537<sup>1</sup>, 844.  
 couvre-pied or couvre-pieds, 574.  
 couvrir (*and pls. of*), 324<sup>2</sup>, 361, 372.  
 crabe, 238.  
 crachoter, 490.

craignant (*pl. of craindre*), 279, 368.  
 terrain (*pl. of craindre*), 328.  
 craindre (*and pl. of*), 116, 279, 325, 363, 368, 688; *the craindre (and pl. of)*, 688.  
 crâne (*subs. and adj.*), 67, 447.  
 crapaud, 486.  
 craqueter, 490.  
 cravate, 516.  
 crayon, 468.  
 crayonnage, 468.  
 crayonner, 468.  
 créance, 460, 487.  
 credo, 494.  
 †creidre (= croire), 97, 112, 121.  
 †creire (= croire), 97.  
 †creis (= crois, *pl. of croître*), 324.  
 crépu, 482.  
 cresson alénois, 486.  
 crétin, 517.  
 Creuse, 158.  
 creux, -euse, 67.  
 crevasse, 468.  
 cri, 218.  
 criard, 487.  
 cric-crac, 444.  
 cricri, 444, 524.  
 (vendre à la) criccé, 449.  
 †criembre (= craindre), 116.  
 crier (= *Pop. Lat. cōitare, and pl. of*), 218, 686, 688, 718; *the crier*, 688.  
 †crier (= creare, créer), 111.  
 crinière, 478.  
 cristal, 240.  
 critique (*m. and f.*), 243.  
 †Criz (= Christ), 120.  
 croc-en-jambes, 402.  
 crochet, 461.  
 crocheteur, 461.  
 crochu, 482.  
 †croi (*pl. of croire*), 325.  
 †croie (= creta, craie), 160.  
 croire, 76, 97, 121, 458, 460, 472, 684, 694, 714-16, 736; (*pl. of*), 325, 367, 777. (*See also †creidre.*)  
 croisade, 517.  
 croisée, 144.  
 †croisée, 144.  
 †croisier, 144.  
 croître, 683; (*pl. of*), 324-5.  
 croix, 102; en croix, 803.  
 †croiz (= croix), 102.

†(à) cropetons or croppetons, 378, 794.  
 crottin, 478.  
 croupe, 476.  
 croupion, 476.  
 croyable, 458, 472.  
 croyance, 460.  
 cru (*pl. of croire*), 777.  
 cruchon, 475.  
 cruor, 494.  
 crustacé, -s, 493, 495.  
 †cueil (*pl. of cueillir*), 372.  
 †cueildrai, †cueilrai, †cueudrai (*pl. of cueillir*), 365.  
 cueillir (*and pl. of*), 67, 143, 324<sup>2</sup>, 365-6, 372, 561.  
 †cuens (= comte), 220.  
 †cui (*accented dat. and accus. of qui*), 314, 659, 672, 834.  
 †culdier (= *to believe*), 100, 348, 715.  
 cuillerée, 481.  
 †cuillier (= oochleare), 100.  
 cuir, 110.  
 cuirasse, 468.  
 cuire (*and pl. of*), 124, 126.  
 cuisine, 40<sup>3</sup>, 106, 126.  
 cuissard, 487.  
 cuisse, 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 cuisse-Madame, 401.  
 culbuter, 440.  
 culeton, 475.  
 culpabilité, 496.  
 cunéiforme, 497.  
 curaçao, 446.  
 cure, 121; n'avoir cure, 820.  
 curé, 76.  
 Cussac, 189, 466.

## D.

(oui-)dà ! 450.  
 daigner, 736.  
 dalleau, 462.  
 †dallot, 462.  
 dame (= domina), 551, 562.  
 dame (= dominum), 432.  
 dame ! (= domine), 388, 448.  
 †dameiselle, 120.  
 damner, 118.  
 Dampierre, 434.  
 †daner (= damner), 118.  
 Dannemarie, 434.  
 dans, 386, 548, 560, 790, 794, 806.

danser, 697.  
 danseur, -euse, †-cresse, 253, 480.  
 dantesque, 496.  
 Danube, 322.  
 d'après, 386.  
 darne, 510.  
 d'arrache-pied, 378.  
 d'aucuns, 615.  
 d'autant plus . . ., 836.  
 †d'avant, d'avant (= devant), 797.  
 de (*prep. and prefix*), 67, 193, 216,  
 384, 386-7, 400, 402, 420, 432,  
 438, 592-3, 607, 614-7, 705,  
 743-6, 791, 793, 798-803, 848;  
 de ce que, 653, 719, 799, 800;  
 de dehors, 386; de dessous, 386;  
 de là, 839; de manière que, 725;  
 de même que, 725; †de mot à  
 mot, 379; †de pas à pas, 379;  
 †de peu à peu, 379; de près, 815.  
 †de là (= dis va l), 450.  
 débarrasser, 680.  
 débattre, 420.  
 débit, 259.  
 (des) déboires, 451.  
 débolter, 413.  
 débonnaire, 438.  
 déborder (*to overflow*), 414, 421.  
 déborder (*to untuck*), 414, 421.  
 debout, 420.  
 (les) débutants (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 déceffer (*pop. use for cesser*), 421.  
 décharger, 407, 421.  
 déchirer, 122.  
 déchoir, 420.  
 décidé, -e (*pl. of décider*), 695.  
 décider (*and pls. of*), 682, 683, 695,  
 719.  
 décimètre, 502.  
 †decique (= jusqu'à ce que), 726.  
 décoller (*pls. of*), 350.  
 décombres, 577.  
 déconseiller, 421.  
 découpoir, 480.  
 décrépitude, 495.  
 décréter, 719.  
 décroître, *see* †descroistre.  
 †(se) dédaigner, 690 (*see also* †des-  
 daignier).  
 dédale, 446.  
 dedans, 139, 386, 548, 806-7; (*as*  
*subs.*), 453, 570.  
 †dedenz, 806.

déduire, *see* †desduire.  
 déesse, 253.  
 désaillir (*and pls. of*), 368.  
 défaire, 412.  
 (je) défaits or défaits, *etc.* (*pls. of*  
 désaillir), 368.  
 défenderesse, 253, 484.  
 défendre, 410, 717, 821 (*see also*  
 †desfendre).  
 défense de (*with inf.*), 711.  
 défensif, 483.  
 définir, 472.  
 définissable, 472.  
 définition (*pop. use for fin*), 473.  
 défroquer, 421.  
 dégalner, 421.  
 dégel, 144.  
 (une) dégelée, 450.  
 †degel, 144.  
 dégoût, 421.  
 dégueniller, 422.  
 dehors, 386, 421, 453, 806, 807.  
 †deis (*pl. of devoir*), 107.  
 déisme, 496.  
 déiste, 496.  
 †deit (= doigt), 127.  
 déjà, 77, 103, 148, 376.  
 déjeuner, -s (*subs.*), 451, 608.  
 †del (= du), 154, 216, 300.  
 (un) délai, †(je) délai, 452.  
 delectur, 494.  
 délectable, 473.  
 délibérer (*pop. use for libérer*), 493.  
 délicat, -e, 273, 275.  
 délice, délices, 231.  
 délisser, 421.  
 déloyal, 412, 421.  
 déluge, 109.  
 démaigrir, 421.  
 demain, 384; demain matin, 608.  
 demander, 420, 737, 746.  
 demanderesse, 253, 480.  
 démanteler, 557.  
 démembrement, 421.  
 démettre, 412 (*see also* †desmettre).  
 demeurer, 104, 420, 683.  
 demi, 105, 421, 582; demi-mort,  
 †demie morte, 588; demi-fin, 406;  
 demi-rond, 406.  
 démocratie, 492, 507.  
 démocratique, 507.  
 demoiselle, 120.  
 dénialiser, 421.

- †(ne . . . un) denier, 827.  
 Denisard, 487.  
 †dens (= dents), 257.  
 dent, 111, 249, 257, 484.  
 dent-de-loup, 404.  
 denteler, 490.  
 dentelle, 484.  
 denter, 490.  
 denture, 481.  
 dénuer, *see* †desnuer.  
 †denz (= dans), 806.  
 †denz (= dents), 257.  
 départ, 452.  
 département, 487.  
 †(je) departz, (je) départs, 452.  
 dépeauter, 461.  
 dépecer, 108.  
 dépenailler, 422.  
 dépens, 577.  
 dépit, 561; en dépit de, 561.  
 déplaire (*and* *pls. of*), 409, 696.  
 (il me) déplaît, 696.  
 déplumer, 421-2.  
 déporter, 412.  
 dépouriller, 680.  
 depuis, 385-6, 427, 747, 813-4;  
 depuis que, 387; †depuis ce que  
 (= depuis que), 387, 814.  
 déraison, 421.  
 dérivation, 477, 495.  
 dériver, 477.  
 †dérivoison, 477<sup>1</sup>.  
 derme, 242.  
 dernier, 724.  
 dérober, 514, 681.  
 derrière, 385, 421, 816.  
 dès (= de ipso), 385.  
 des (= de + les), 299, 303.  
 désagréable, 406, 421.  
 désarroi, 406, 421.  
 désastre, 406, 421.  
 descendre, 685, 736.  
 †descroistre (*repl. by* décroître), 410.  
 †desdaigner (*repl. by* dédaigner),  
 410.  
 †desduire (*repl. by* déduire), 421.  
 désespérer, 685, 716, 821.  
 †desfendre (*repl. by* défendre), 421.  
 désbérence, 414.  
 désbériter, 421.  
 déshonnête, 421, 551.  
 déshonneur, 248, 421.  
 désir, 159.  
 désirer, 717, 736.  
 désireux, 802.  
 †desmettre, 421.  
 †desnuer (*repl. by* dénuer), 410.  
 désobligeant, 406.  
 (être) désolé, 719.  
 désordre, 421.  
 désormais, 385.  
 désosser, 413.  
 dessiller, 544.  
 dessous, 380, 385-6, 421, 453, 817.  
 dessus, 380, 385-6, 421, 453, 817.  
 †destornée, 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 †dete, 95.  
 détournée, 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 dette, 95, 363, 450.  
 †deu (= du), 299.  
 †Deu (= Dieu), 92<sup>1</sup>, 98, 134.  
 †Deus, 152.  
 †deus (= deux), 195, 202.  
 †deüs, -ümes, &c. (*pls. of* devoir),  
 362.  
 †deusiesme, 202.  
 †(il) deut or se deut (*pl. of* †doloir),  
 335, 688, 696.  
 deux, 193, 195, 202; deux cents, 407.  
 deuxième, 193, 202.  
 †deuxiesme, 202.  
 devancier, 477.  
 devant, 421, 477, 795, 797, 798,  
 807.  
 †develz (*pl. of* devoir), 107.  
 devenir (*and* *pls. of*), 610-1, 702.  
 devers, 385.  
 dévêtir, 358.  
 devin, 105.  
 devineresse, 253.  
 deviser, 421.  
 devoir, 104, 338, 340, 343, 359,  
 703-4, 736, 758; (*pls. of*), 84<sup>1</sup>,  
 107, 327, 330-1, 335, 338, 361-2,  
 365, 368-9, 777; (*subs.*), 451, 735.  
 †devoiz (*pl. of* devoir), 107.  
 dévot, -e, 275.  
 dévotion, 191.  
 †Dex (*abbreviation for* †Deus,  
 Dieu), 152.  
 dey, 67.  
 †di (= diem), 91, 218-9.  
 †dia (= dis va!), 388, 450.  
 diabète, 493.  
 diable, 146, 607, 808, 831; (*as interj.*),  
 388.

- diablerie, 464.  
 diablette (*pop. use for diabète*), 493.  
 †diablie, 464.  
 diaconesse, 253, 484.  
 diagonale, 282.  
 dialecte, 248.  
 diantre! 388.  
 die, -s, -nt (*pls. of dire*), 373.  
 Dieu, 77, 92<sup>1</sup>, 152, 607, 831; (*as interj.*), 388; (*see also* †Dieu, †Deus); Dieu merci, 831.  
 Diedonné, 440.  
 différent, -s, -e, 209, 833.  
 diffus, -e, 382.  
 diffusément, 382.  
 †dist (*pl. of devoir*, = *debet*), 91.  
 digne, 706.  
 †diligemment, 270, 381.  
 dîme, 123, 204.  
 †dîmes (1 *pl. pres. ind. of dire*), 369, 372.  
 dinde, 255.  
 dindon, 255, 484.  
 dindonneau, 484.  
 dîner, 451, 608.  
 diocèse, 249.  
 †dira l'on (= *dira-t-on*), 328.  
 dira-t-on, 328.  
 dire (*and pls. of*), 66-7, 96, 102, 327-8, 330, 361, 367, 369, 372-3, 450, 714-5, 718; (*subs.*), 451;  
 dire raison, vérité, 610.  
 directeur, -trice, 254.  
 (les) direx, 451.  
 †dis (= *dix*), 101, 123, 194, 196.  
 dis va! 450.  
 disconvenir, 716.  
 discours, 179.  
 discret, -ète, 275-6.  
 †discrette, 276.  
 †disenuevime, 204.  
 †disetisme, 204.  
 †discuitisme, 204.  
 †disiesme, 204.  
 †disisme, 204.  
 dis-je (*pl. of dire*), 327.  
 †disime, 123, 204.  
 disparaltre, 683, 688-9; *se disparaltre* (*and pls. of*), 688-9.  
 dispos, 281.  
 dissimuler, 716.  
 dissoudre, 277.  
 dissous, -oute (*pl. of dissoudre*), 277.  
 distraire, -e, 275.  
 (un) dit, 449.  
 dite (*pl. of dire*), 66.  
 dites (*pl. of dire*), 330, 369, 372-3.  
 dit-on (*pl. of dire*), 328.  
 diurne, 579.  
 †diva! (= *dis va!*), 450.  
 diversité, 483.  
 divin, 592.  
 division, 532.  
 dix, 115<sup>1</sup>, 123, 162, 194-6 (*see also* †dis).  
 dix-huit, 196, 197.  
 (en) dix-huit, 490.  
 dixième, 204.  
 dix-neuf, 197.  
 dix-sept, 197.  
 dizain, 474.  
 dizaine, -s, 205<sup>1</sup>, 474.  
 †dabler (= *doubler*), 118.  
 †docteur, -ime (*comp. and sup. of docte*), 285<sup>1</sup>.  
 doctoral, 282.  
 doctoresse, 253.  
 †does (= *deux*), 195.  
 †doi (= *deux*), 195.  
 †(je) doi (*pl. of devoir*), 325, 335.  
 †doie (= *doigts*), 227.  
 doigt, 74, 127 (*see* †doit, †doie).  
 †(je) doins (= *donne*), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 (tu) dois (*pl. of devoir*), 107.  
 dois-je (*pl. of devoir*), 327.  
 †doit (= *doigt*), 127, 227.  
 †douce (= *douce*), 269.  
 dolent, -e, 269.  
 dolmen, 510.  
 †dolor (= *douleur*), 105, 140, 143.  
 †dolorous, 107.  
 †dolour, 107.  
 †dols (= *doux*), 154.  
 †dolz (= *doux*), 122, 269.  
 dom, 434, 611.  
 Domremy, 434.  
 don, -s, 226.  
 donc, 377.  
 (ma)done, 562.  
 (prima)donna, 562.  
 donnant donnant, 768.  
 donné, -e, 779.  
 donner (*and pls. of*), 162, 325<sup>1</sup>, 327, 685, 688, 693, 768, 779; *donner en récompense*, 610; *donner réponse*, victoire, 610.

- donne-vie, 443.  
 †donques, 377.  
 dont, 379, 655, 659-60, 665, 667-8.  
 †d'or en avant, 380.  
 dorade, 517.  
 doré (*pl. of dorer*), 579.  
 dorénavant, 380, 396 (*see also* †d'ores en avant).  
 dorer (*and pl. of*), 410, 579.  
 †d'ores en avant, 804.  
 dormant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 dormir (*and pl. of*), 324, 327, 367, 448, 683, 686, 688, 689, 692; (*subs.*), 451, 735; †se dormir (*and pl. of*), 688-9.  
 dors-je, 327.  
 dortoir, 93.  
 dos, 158.  
 †dos (= deux), 194-5, 202.  
 †dosime, 202.  
 †dosisme, 202.  
 dot, 158, 233.  
 †dou (= du), 154, 299.  
 d'où, 666; d'où vient . . . ? 619.  
 †douairier, 250, 253.  
 donairière, 250.  
 douane, 191.  
 doubler, 118.  
 douce, 64, 66, 269 (*see also* doux).  
 douce-amère, 398.  
 douceâtre, 488.  
 doucet, 485.  
 douleur, 105, 107, 143, 241, 459 (*see also* †dolor).  
 †doulour (*pl. of*), 335, 459; †se doulour (*and pl. of*), 688.  
 douloureux, -euse, 92, 107, 276.  
 †dous (= dous, deux), 194-5, 202.  
 †dous (= duloem, doux), 154.  
 †dousime, 202.  
 †dousisme, 202.  
 doute, 234.  
 douter, 688, 710, 716, 764; se douter, 688, 714; il est douteux, 721.  
 doux, 64, 67, 122, 152, 154, 413, 485 (*see also* douce).  
 †doux (= doux), 122.  
 douzain, 205.  
 douzaine, 205, 474.  
 douze, 64, 66, 194.  
 douzième, 202; les —s provisoires, 448.  
 †doze (= douze), 194.  
 dragée, 480.  
 drageoir, 480.  
 drap, -s, 148, 257, 259, 392, 529.  
 drapeau, 392, 393, 529.  
 †dras (= draps), 148, 257.  
 †drecier, 106<sup>2</sup>.  
 †dreit (= droik), 91, 102.  
 dresser, 106<sup>2</sup>.  
 drille, 510.  
 drogman, 523.  
 droit (*adj.*), 102; (*adv.*), 377. *See also* †dreit.  
 drôle (*subs. and adj.*), 252, 447, 464, 802.  
 drôlerie, 464.  
 drôlesse, 252, 802.  
 dru, 510.  
 druide, -sse, 252.  
 du, 84<sup>1</sup>, 154, 216, 299, 300, 615-7.  
 dû (*pl. of devoir*), 84<sup>1</sup>, 777.  
 duc, 67, 122<sup>1</sup>, 252.  
 ducasse, 517.  
 duché, 248.  
 duchesse, 122<sup>1</sup>, 252, 484.  
 duègne, 551, 562.  
 †duement, 382.  
 -duire (*in combination*), 124.  
 †dulcement, 380.  
 dûment, 382, 396.  
 dupe, 464.  
 duperie, 464.  
 duquel, *see* lequel.  
 dur, 67.  
 durant, 285, 449.  
 dur-cuit, †durs-cuits, 407, 588.  
 durement, 284.  
 dure-mère, 404.  
 dure-peau, 403.  
 dureté, 482.  
 (je) dus (*pl. of devoir*), 361.

## E.

- eau, 158, 191 (*see also* eaux).  
 eau de puits, 607<sup>1</sup>.  
 eau de rose, 576.  
 eau de Seine, 607<sup>1</sup>.  
 eau de source, 607<sup>1</sup>.  
 eau-de-vie, 397, 399.  
 teauc, 158.  
 eau-forte, 398.

eaux (*pl. of eau*), 192.  
 Eaux-Bonnes, 531.  
 ébahir, 524, 694.  
 ébène, 236.  
 éborgner, 414, 422.  
 éboulis, 469.  
 ébreu, 92<sup>1</sup>, 98, 134.  
 ébrien, 92<sup>1</sup>.  
 ébruiter, 422, 461.  
 écarlate, 243.  
 écarteler, 422.  
 ecce homo, 494.  
 échange, 234.  
 échanger (= *to exchange*), 422.  
 échanger (= *exaniare, to sleep*), 129.  
 échapper, 683.  
 échauder (*to lime-wash*), 461.  
 échauder (*to scald*), 413.  
 échéance, 375.  
 échec, -s, 157, 258, 522.  
 échenal, 422.  
 (il) échet (*pl. of échoir*), 375.  
 échine, 122 *note*.  
 échiquier, 478.  
 écho, 240.  
 échoir (*and pl. of*), 375, 683.  
 éclaircir, 422.  
 éclairer, 414, 422.  
 éclat, 557.  
 éclater, 514, 689; *ts'*éclater, 689.  
 éclore, 683, 689; *ts'*éclore, 689.  
 écoinçer, 462.  
 écoinçon, 414, 422.  
 école, 531 (*see also* *tescole*); école payante, 772.  
 écolier, 477.  
 écouter, 117.  
 écrire (*and pl. of*), 149, 266, 367, 449, 682, 688, 712, 718, 831.  
 écrit (*subs. and partic.*), 449.  
 écriture, 481; (les) Écritures, 529.  
 écrivain, 250.  
 écrivasser, 490.  
 écrive (*pl. of écrire*), 712.  
 écrouelles, 113<sup>2</sup>.  
 écu, 832.  
 écu, 460, 462.  
 écuil, 124.  
 écuelle, 146.  
 écumoire, 480, 496.  
 écurie, 470.  
 écusson, 460, 462.

édification, 540.  
 effacer, 422.  
 effaroucher, 422.  
 effet, 259.  
 effluve, 236.  
 (s')efforcer, 746.  
 effort (= *strain*), 531.  
 effronté, 414.  
 effroyable, 473.  
 effûtage, 414.  
 égaler, 682.  
 égalitaire, 495.  
 égayer, 413.  
 église, 531.  
 égorger, 422.  
 teis (= 0000), 308.  
 teissir (= *to go out*), 352.  
 tel (= *en le*), 300, 805.  
 elbeuf, 446.  
 élégamment, 270.  
 éléments, 378.  
 élève (*m. and f.*), 247, 250.  
 élever, 422.  
 élire, 422.  
 élite, 313, 450.  
 éloigné (*pl. of éloigner*), 279.  
 éloigner (*and pl. of*), 279, 682.  
 éloquentement, 270.  
 éloquemment, 270.  
 tels (= *illos, eux*), 154, 294-5.  
 tels (= *en les*), 300.  
 émail, -aux, 260.  
 embarquer, 396, 412, 413, 423.  
 embarras, 468.  
 embaucher, 423.  
 embaumer, 686.  
 embellie, 414.  
 embesogné, 414.  
 embonpoint, 423, 438.  
 embranchement, 414.  
 temender (= *amender*), 422.  
 émerveiller, 422.  
 émigrant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 émigré (*partic. and subs.*), 450.  
 emmener, 424.  
 emmurer, 423.  
 émousser, 422.  
 émouvoir, 680.  
 empâter, 413.  
 temperedor, -s, 220.  
 temperedre, 220.  
 tempereur, -s, 220-1.  
 tempereor, -s, 220, 223.

- temperere, -s, 220-1.  
 tempereresse, 480.  
 tempereriz, 253, 480.  
 tempeur, -s, 220, 221, 478, 611.  
 empester, 686.  
 empirer, 413 (*see* tempirier).  
 tempirier, 100.  
 emplacement, 423.  
 emplir, 409, 416-7, 423, 429.  
 employer, 423.  
 empoisonner, 686.  
 emporter, 424.  
 empressé, -e, 695.  
 (s')empresser, 695.  
 en (= in, *prep.*), 139, 384-6, 402, 411, 423, 560-1, 607, 748, 768-9, 790, 803-6. (*See also under Prefixes, p. 928.*)  
 en (= inde, *pronem. adv.*), 376, 384, 424, 628, 636-9, 645, 777, 836, 847. (*See also under Prefixes, p. 928.*)  
 (s')en aller (*and pts. of*), 424, 689.  
 en arrière, 816-7.  
 en avant, 797.  
 en bas, 384.  
 (seoir) en cheval, 561.  
 en croix, 803.  
 en danger, 610.  
 en dedans de, 385.  
 en dépit de, 385, 561.  
 ten es le pas, 308.  
 en face, en face de, 385.  
 en haut, 384.  
 ten le, les, 300, 794.  
 en outre, 808.  
 en peine, 610.  
 en personne, 636.  
 en pear, 610.  
 (portrait) en pied, 560, 803.  
 en possession, 610.  
 en récompense, 610.  
 (s')en retourner (*and pts. of*), 424.  
 en sorte que, 734.  
 (casque) en tête, 560, 803.  
 en train, 436, 438.  
 (s')en venir (*and pts. of*), 424.  
 encablure, 423.  
 encadrure, 414.  
 encaloeer, 413, 423.  
 encan, 423.  
 en-cas, 423, 438.  
 enceinte (*adj.*), 423.  
 enchanteresse, 480.  
 enclore, 423.  
 enclos, 121.  
 encolure, 423.  
 encombrer, 680.  
 encorbellement, 423.  
 encore, 839; encore que, 732.  
 encourager, 423, 745.  
 encrier, 478.  
 †(l')endemain (= lendemain), 443.  
 endimancher, 423.  
 endroit, 438.  
 enduire, 423.  
 tensans (= enfants), 257, 260.  
 enfant, -s, 69, 117, 244-5, 250, 257, 260, 423.  
 enfantin, 475.  
 tensanz (= enfants), 257.  
 enfermer, 423.  
 tenferté (= infirmitatem), 424.  
 enfin, 384.  
 enfler, 423.  
 (s')enfuir (*and pts. of*), 424, 688-9.  
 (s')engager, 746.  
 englanté, 414.  
 englober, 423.  
 engloutir, 423.  
 engrêler, 414.  
 énigme, 236.  
 enivrer, 423.  
 enjeu, 423, 437, 438.  
 enjoindre, 423.  
 enjôler, 423.  
 enjoliver, 423.  
 tenl, tens ( = en le, en les), 300.  
 enlaidir, 423.  
 enlever, 424.  
 tenmi, 385, 582.  
 ennemi, 424.  
 ennui, 139.  
 †(il m')ennuie, 696.  
 énoncé (*partic. and subv.*), 449.  
 énoncer, 551.  
 enorgueillir, 423.  
 énormément, 382.  
 tenquérir, 688.  
 (s')enquérir, 688.  
 enrichir, 423.  
 enrôler, 423.  
 enseigne, 227, 247, 250.  
 teneignier (= enseigner), 348.  
 ensemble, 279, 384.



- (s')ensuivre, 697.  
 tent (= inde, *see also under Pre-  
 fixes*, p. 928), 376, 424, 432.  
 entablement, 423.  
 entamer, 410.  
 entendants-parlants, 407.  
 tentendé-je, 327.  
 entendre (*and pl. of*), 327, 440,  
 532, 548, 694, 708, 737-8, 740-2,  
 778-9, 847.  
 entendre raillerie, 610.  
 entends-je, 327.  
 †(un) entends-tu (*syn. of équivoque*),  
 440.  
 entendu, -e, 778-9.  
 enter, 409.  
 en-tête, 438.  
 entier, 424.  
 tentorner, 459.  
 entourer, 469.  
 en-tout-cas, 423<sup>1</sup>, 438.  
 entr'acte, 232, 425, 438.  
 tentraîlle, 577.  
 entrailles, 577.  
 entraîner, 424.  
 entraves, 239.  
 entre (*prep. and prefix*), 117, 326,  
 384, 411, 413, 424-5, 432, 438-9,  
 748; entre tous, 596.  
 (j')entre (*pl. of entrer*), 91, 326, 344,  
 347.  
 entrebâiller, 425.  
 entre-bât, 439.  
 entre-colonnement, 396, 413, 425.  
 entrecôte, 239, 425, 437, 438.  
 entrecouper, 424.  
 entre-cour, 439.  
 entrecours, 425.  
 entrecroiser, 424.  
 (s')entredéchirer, 425.  
 entredire, 424.  
 entrée (*subst.*), 532.  
 entrefilet, 438.  
 entregent, 438.  
 tentre-gié, tentre-jo (*pl. of entrer*),  
 326.  
 entrelac, 425.  
 entrelarge, 425.  
 entreligne, 425, 438.  
 entremêler, 424.  
 entremets, 438.  
 entremettre, 424.  
 entrepas, 425.  
 entreprendre, 424.  
 entrer (*and pl. of*), 91, 326, 344,  
 347, 689, 838; †s'entrer (*and  
 pl. of*), 689; entrer en possession,  
 610.  
 (s')entre-regarder, 425.  
 entresol, 438.  
 entre-temps, 425, 439.  
 entretenir, 424.  
 entrevoie, 425.  
 entrevoir, 425.  
 entr'ouvrir, 425.  
 envahir, 352.  
 envergure, 423.  
 envers, 385, 817.  
 envoler, 424.  
 envoyer (*and pl. of*), 351-2, 424,  
 847.  
 tenz, tenz en (= dans), 806.  
 teo (= je), 290.  
 épacte, 236.  
 épagneul, 447, 470.  
 épais, -se, 276.  
 épaule, *see* tespaule.  
 épeautre, 242.  
 épée, 117 (*see also* †spede).  
 épeler (*and pl. of*), 350.  
 Épernay, 189.  
 éperon, -s, 218 (*see also* †esperons).  
 épervier, 149.  
 épi, 462.  
 épices, 393.  
 épiderme, 242.  
 épigramme, 236.  
 épillet, 462.  
 épinoche, 470.  
 épisode, 236, 506.  
 épitaphe, 236.  
 épithète, 236.  
 épitomé, 240.  
 épongeur, 477.  
 épousailles, 577.  
 épousseter (*and pl. of*), 350.  
 épouvantable, 473.  
 épouvantail, 191, 471 (*see also*  
 épouvantaux).  
 épouvantaux, 260.  
 époux, 252.  
 teps (= ipse), 308.  
 †epse, 308<sup>1</sup>.  
 équitable, 457, 472.  
 équivoque, 236.  
 érable, 129.

- terbe (= herbe), 95.  
 tere, -s, -t (*pls. of être*), 369.  
 éréspèle, 236.  
 terions, -iez, -ent (*pls. of être*), 369.  
 termes (*pl. of être*), 370.  
 errant, -e, 771.  
 terres (= 'r's), 264.  
 errer, 248.  
 tert (*pl. of être*), 98.  
 tertés (*pl. of être*), 370.  
 es or ès (= en les), 300, 548, 794,  
 805-6.  
 es (*pl. of être*), 369.  
 tes (= eoes), 308; tes vos, tes les  
 vos (= eoes vobis), 308<sup>1</sup>, 635.  
 tes (= ipse), 308.  
 tes (= iste), 308.  
 †(s)'esbahir (*syn. of s'étonner*), 719.  
 tesbattre, 422.  
 escabeau, 553.  
 escabelle, 553.  
 escarbot, 463.  
 tescargol, 463.  
 escargot, 463.  
 teschame (*syn. of escabeau*), 118.  
 teschanger, 422.  
 teschirer (*syn. of déchirer*), 122<sup>1</sup>.  
 (à mon, à bon) escient, 769.  
 esclave, 447.  
 escobar, 446.  
 tescole, 96<sup>1</sup>.  
 tescoler, 477.  
 tescolter (= écouter), 117.  
 tescrire (*and pls. of*), *see écrire*.  
 tescrit (*partic. used as adj.*), 266.  
 tescrocles (= écrouelles), 113.  
 tescuell, 124.  
 tescuser (*repl. by excuser*), 422.  
 tesjouir, 428 (*see also réjouir*).  
 teslever (= élever), 410, 422.  
 teslire (= élire), 410, 422.  
 tesmes (*pl. of être*, = sommes),  
 329.  
 espace, 228.  
 tespadle (= épaule), 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 Espagne, 150.  
 espagnol, -e, 283.  
 †Espagne, 150.  
 tespalle (= épaule), 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 tespandre, 422.  
 tespavrier (= épervier), 149.  
 tespale, 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 tespée, 97.  
 espérer (*and pls. of*), 350, 351, 714.  
 tespérons (= éperons), 194<sup>1</sup>, 218.  
 tespés, -se, 276.  
 espègle (*subs.*), 446; (*adj.*), 447.  
 espoir, 453.  
 tespois, -se, 276.  
 esprit, 532.  
 esprit-de-vin, 402.  
 essaim, 102, 463<sup>1</sup>.  
 tessanger (*to sleep*), 129.  
 essayer, 746.  
 tessemble (= exemple), 124.  
 essien, 472.  
 essor, 158.  
 essue-mains, 574.  
 est, *see être* (*pls. of*); c'est, 652-3,  
 786-7 (*see also under ce* = eoeo-  
 hoo); il est douteux, 721; il est  
 évident, 720; il est nécessaire,  
 721; il est possible, 721; il est  
 vrai, 720; il n'est pas sûr, il n'est  
 pas vrai, 720.  
 estafette, 250.  
 testant (*pl. of être*), 371.  
 est-ce que? 327.  
 testé, 149.  
 testeic, -s (*pls. of être*), 370.  
 testeile (= étoile), 97.  
 testes (*pl. of être*), 369.  
 tester (*pl. of être*), 779.  
 estimer (*and pls. of*), 707, 715.  
 testoie, -s (*pls. of être*), 370.  
 testoile, -s, 97, 194.  
 testovoir (= *to begit*, *and pls. of*),  
 699, 736.  
 testraie (*pl. of être*), 370.  
 testraire (*repl. by extraire*), 422.  
 testre (= être), 120, 329, 369.  
 testude, 229<sup>1</sup>.  
 †(il) estuet (*pl. of estovoir*), 699, 736.  
 testuide (= étude), 229<sup>1</sup>.  
 testuie (= étude), 229<sup>1</sup>.  
 et (*conj.*), 201, 286-7, 594, 599,  
 823-4, 848.  
 †étal (= étau), 259.  
 étalon, 258.  
 États-Unis, 162, 163.  
 étau, -x, 152, 259, 212.  
 été (*subs.*, = aestatem), 149, 242.  
 été (*pl. of être*), 779.  
 éteignoir, 455.  
 éteindre, 694.  
 étendard, 529.

téternement, 382.  
 †(les) éternuers, 735.  
 éternûment, 382.  
 étiquette, 509<sup>1</sup>.  
 étoffe gris-perle, 435.  
 étoile, 97.  
 (s')étonner, 719.  
 étoupin, 475.  
 (un) étourdi, 449.  
 étranger, étrangère, 279.  
 être, 120, 594, 683, 691, 699, 700,  
 706, 710, 735, 773, 749-50, 780,  
 785, 837; (*pl. of*), 98, 101, 120,  
 319, 329-31<sup>1</sup>, 369, 370-1, 611-2,  
 712-3, 725, 779, 841, (*as syn. of*  
 'aller') 736; (*subs.*), 451, 735.  
 être à cheval, 538.  
 être certain, 714.  
 être content, 719.  
 être désolé, 719.  
 être en danger, en peur, 610.  
 être pour, 705.  
 être sûr, 714.  
 être surpris, 719.  
 étude, 229.  
 eu, -e, 114, 779 (*see also parts of*  
*avoir*).  
 teu (= en le), 300.  
 Eugène, 502.  
 Eulenspiegel, 446, 447.  
 euphorbe, 236.  
 teür (= augurium, heur), 105, 127,  
 146<sup>1</sup>.  
 teure (= hora, heure), 98<sup>1</sup>.  
 eus (*pl. of avoir*), 67, 371.  
 tens (= illos, eux), 154, 294.  
 eut (*pl. of avoir*), 371.  
 eux, 154, 294, 297.  
 Évain, 222 *note*.  
 évangile, 229.  
 †évanoir, 690.  
 évanouir *and* (s')évanouir, 688, 690,  
 694-5.  
 Eve, 222 *note*.  
 évêché, 248.  
 éventail, 471 (*see also* †éventaux).  
 †éventaux, 260.  
 évêque, 510, 562 (*see also* †evesque).  
 †evesque, 95, 128.  
 (il est) évident, 720.  
 évier, 109, 444.  
 ex cathedra, ex professo, ex voto,  
 494.

exactement, 159.  
 exactitude, 495.  
 excepté, 385, 450, 773.  
 excuser, *see* †excuser.  
 exécuteur, 254.  
 exécutrice, 254.  
 exemple, 229 (*see also* †esemple).  
 exhorter, 746.  
 exiger, 717.  
 exigü, -ë, 274.  
 ex-juge, 438.  
 ex-ministre, 498.  
 exocet, 505.  
 expiré (*pl. of expirer*), 695.  
 expliquer, 694; (s')expliquer (*as-  
 pers.*), 708.  
 explosible, 493.  
 ex-préfet, 498.  
 exprès, -esse, 276, 382.  
 expressément, 382.  
 ex-roi, 438.  
 externat, 496.  
 extra (*prefix and subs.*), 498.  
 extraire, *see* †estraire.  
 extravagant, -s (*partic., adj., and*  
*subs.*), 448.  
 extrême, extrêmement, 284, 285,  
 595.

## F.

fable, 468<sup>1</sup>, 494.  
 fabuliste, 494.  
 face (*subs.*), 125.  
 †face, -s, &c. (*pl. of faire*), 126,  
 373.  
 fâchée, 695.  
 †faciens (*pl. of faire*, = fassions),  
 110.  
 facile, 705.  
 façon, 110, 125, 476.  
 fac-simile, 441, 494.  
 factage, 457.  
 facteur, 457, 468<sup>1</sup>.  
 factotum, 441.  
 fadasse, 456, 469.  
 fade, 112.  
 fagot, 485.  
 †fai (*pl. of faire*), 123, 440.  
 faible, 160, 272, 343, 413.  
 faiblesse, 454, 483.  
 faiblir, 343.  
 falence, 446.

- faillir, 340, 736, (*† in sense of falloir*) 699.  
 faim, 68, 102, 136.  
 †faimes (*pl. of faire*), 369, 373.  
 †fai-mi-boire (= fais-moi-boire), 440.  
 faïncantise, 483.  
 faire, 100, 124, 408, 412, 458, 694  
 -s, 703-5, 710, 736-42, 778; (*as impersonal*), 700; (*as subs.*), 451;  
 (*pls. of*), 95, 100, 110, 120, 123-  
 4, 126, 141, 325, 327, 330, 331<sup>1</sup>,  
 361, 367, 369, 372-3, 712-3, 778-9.  
 †faire entendant, 769; faire faire,  
 faire tomber, 408; †faire guerre,  
 610; †faire oraison, 610; (ne)  
 faire que . . ., 742; †faire récit,  
 610; faire semblant, 769; faire  
 souvenir, taire, &c., 694-5 [*see also*  
 (il) fait bon, cher, &c.].  
 †faïseor, -s, 220.  
 faïseur, 220<sup>1</sup>, 458.  
 †faïsière, 220.  
 fais-je (*pl. of faire*), 327.  
 fait, -e (*pls. of faire*), 100, 124, 141,  
 778-9.  
 (un) fait, 449.  
 (il) fait bon, cher, &c., 700.  
 faites (*pl. of faire*), 330, 369, 372-3.  
 †faitiz, 469.  
 †faldra (*pl. of falloir*), 119.  
 falloir (*and pls. of*), 119, 340, 365,  
 697-700; (*s'en*) falloir, 690.  
 †falseté, 482.  
 †fame, 120.  
 fameusement, 596.  
 famine, 475.  
 Fanchon, 475.  
 fanfan, 444.  
 fanfaron (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 fanfreluchoe, 470.  
 fantoche, 470.  
 farce (*subs. and adj.*), 447, 479.  
 farceur, 479.  
 farineux, 481.  
 †farme, 149.  
 †faroche, 104.  
 farouche, 104.  
 fasse (*pl. of faire*), 126, 712.  
 fassions (*pl. of faire*), 110.  
 fat, 281.  
 fatal, -s, 282.  
 faubourg, 423, 439, 459, 462, 479.  
 faubourien, 459, 474.  
 fauchaison, 476.  
 faucher, 476.  
 faucheur, 462, 479.  
 faucheuse (*subs. and adj.*), 445.  
 faucheux, 462, 479.  
 faucille, 471.  
 faucon, 475.  
 faudra (*pl. of falloir*), 119.  
 (se) fauhler, 423.  
 -faulx, 152.  
 Fauquembergue, 189.  
 fausse (*f. of faux*), 276.  
 fausse-monnaie, 397-399.  
 fausseté, 482.  
 (il) faut (*pl. of falloir*), 697.  
 -faux (= falsoem, *scythe*), 471.  
 faux (= falsoem, *adj.*), 152, 276,  
 281; (*as adv.*), 377; (*used for*  
*sors-*), 423.  
 faux-marché, 423.  
 faux-monnayeur, 399.  
 favori, -te, 280, 281.  
 †favorie (= favorite) 281.  
 †favorir, 281.  
 †faz (*pl. of faire*) 325.  
 fédéré (*partic. and subs.*), 450.  
 †fedut (= feu, *late*), 583.  
 †fei (= foi), 221.  
 †fein (= foin), 141, 516.  
 feindre, 737.  
 feinte, 69.  
 †feintiz, 469.  
 †feit (= foi), 97, 115, 221.  
 †feiz (= fols), 112.  
 †felgière, 154.  
 félibre, 26.  
 (se) féliciter, 719.  
 femelle, 254.  
 femme, 67, 92, 120, 161-2, 191, 251.  
 femmelette, 485.  
 fend (*pl. of fendre*), 139.  
 fendiller, 490.  
 †fenestre, 104.  
 fenêtre, 104.  
 fenil, 472.  
 †fenir (= finir), 105, 353<sup>1</sup>.  
 fenouil, 471.  
 fer (= ferrum, *iron*), 111, 538.  
 †fer (= firmum, *ferme, adj. m.*),  
 273.  
 ferai, -s, &c. (*pls. of faire*), 373.  
 fer-blanc, 394, 398, 399, 461.  
 ferblantier, 399, 461.

ser-chaud, 404.  
 †serme (= serme, *adj. m.*), 273.  
 sermail, 471.  
 serme (*adj.*), 149, 273, 446; (*as interj.*), 388.  
 sermer, 536.  
 sermeture, 462.  
 sermier, -ière, 477.  
 sermoir, 496.  
 †sermure, 462.  
 ferraille, 227, 455.  
 ferrailleur, 490.  
 ferré (*pt. of ferrer*), 579.  
 ferrer, 538.  
 ferrique, 495.  
 ferrure, 481.  
 fertile, 273.  
 †fessant (*pt. of faire*), 373.  
 †fesses (*pt. of faire*), 373.  
 †fesis, -imes, &c. (*pts. of faire*), 361.  
 †fesiast (*pt. of faire*, = *foelast*), 95.  
 †fesiastes (*pt. of faire*, = *foelastis*), 104.  
 †faisons (*pt. of faire*) 373.  
 †feste, 149.  
 festoyer, 491.  
 †festu, 104; †ne . . . un festu, 827.  
 fête, 149, 226, 491.  
 fête-Dieu, 401.  
 fêteu, 104 (*see also* †festu).  
 feu (= *fooum, fire*), 96<sup>2</sup>, 262 (*see also* †feu).  
 feu (= *fatutus, late*), 583, 612.  
 †feü, 583.  
 †feuil, 226, 227.  
 feuillage, 227, 454, 456, 467.  
 feuille, 191, 226, 227, 532.  
 feuille-morte, 243, 591.  
 feuillet, 343.  
 feuilletter, 343.  
 †feur (= *fur*), 160.  
 fève, 97, 157, 470.  
 féverole, 461, 470.  
 février, 78.  
 fi 1 388.  
 fiançailles, 473, 577.  
 fiancé, -e (*partic. and subs.*), 449, 695.  
 ficelle, 154.  
 fiel, 144.  
 fier (*adj.*), 77, 144, 157, 279, 460.  
 fierte, 460.  
 fiens (*dialectal*, = *fiis*), 155.  
 fiévroite, 485.

fiifi, 444.  
 fil, -s (= *filum, thread*), 227.  
 †fil, -s (= *filium, son*), 222.  
 filande, 486.  
 †filandière, 486.  
 filasse, 468.  
 filateur, 495.  
 filature, 496.  
 †filicelle, 154.  
 file, -s, 226-7.  
 filer, 495, 545.  
 fileur, 495.  
 †filâtre, 399, 488.  
 fille, 40, 78, 97, 109, 191, 251.  
 fillette, 455, 485.  
 filleul, 470.  
 filoche, 470.  
 fils (= *filius*), 185, 191, 222, 251, 611, 612 (*see also* †fils).  
 †fils, 126.  
 fin (= *finem, end*), 223, 492.  
 fin, -e (*Pop. Lat. finum, adj.*), 272.  
 final, -s, 282, 472.  
 finâtre, 488.  
 finaud, 486.  
 †(je) fini (*pt. of finir*), 325.  
 finir, 105; (*pts. of*), 325, 352-7, 361, 366.  
 fis (*pt. of faire*), 95, 361.  
 †fisidret (*pt. of faire*), 120.  
 fuis (*dialectal*, = *fiis*), 155.  
 flambe, 129.  
 †flamblé (= *flambe*), 129.  
 flamme, 47, 470.  
 flammerole, 455, 470.  
 flandrin, 447.  
 flânocher, 490.  
 flatteur, 479.  
 Fléchier, 144.  
 flétrissure, 481.  
 fleur, 97, 180, 189, 358, 392, 423;  
 fleur(-s) de lis, 223.  
 fleurir (*pts. of*), 357, 358 (*see also* †florir).  
 flic-flac, 444.  
 floraison, 476.  
 †florir (= *fleurir*), 358, 476.  
 flot, 158.  
 †floter, 124.  
 flotter, 106<sup>2</sup>, 124.  
 †flour (= *fleur*), 97.  
 foi, 74, 97, 115, 147, 221, 610.  
 †foible (= *faible*), 160.

- foin, 141<sup>1</sup>, 516.  
fois, 28<sup>2</sup>, 112; deux, trois . . . fois  
  plus que, 601<sup>2</sup>.  
foison, 106, 476.  
fol, -s, -le, -s (= fou, folle), 154,  
  259, 262, 269, 280, 413, 416, 463.  
folâtre, 488.  
folichon, 475.  
folie, 158, 463-5.  
  (in-) folio, 499.  
folle, 252.  
fond (*subs.*), 83, 225.  
fondre, 693.  
fonds (*subs.*), 222, 224-5 (*see also*  
  fond).  
Fonfrède, 269.  
font (*pl. of faire*), 331<sup>1</sup>, 373.  
font, -s (= fontem, *subs.*), 249;  
  fontes baptismaux, 269.  
fontaine, 249.  
Fontainebleau, 401.  
†Fontaine-Biaut, 401.  
Fontenay, 67.  
Font-Evrault, Fontevrault, 401.  
†forbannir, 422.  
†forboire, 423.  
†forbu, 423.  
forçat, 517.  
force, 463<sup>2</sup>.  
forcené, 438.  
forcer à, forcer de, 551, 746.  
†forçor (= fortiorum), 283.  
forge, 118.  
forgeron, 461.  
forgeur, 461.  
forligner, 423.  
†formage (= fromage), 105, 130,  
  467.  
formation, 495.  
forme, 95.  
†formet (= fortement), 380.  
†forn (= four), 258-9.  
†fors (*pl. of fform*), 258.  
fors (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 385,  
  411, 414, 422-3, 432, 438-9,  
  806-7; fors que, 819.  
†fors-bourg (= faubourg), 439.  
†forséné (= forcené), 414, 438.  
ort (*m. and f.*), -e, -s, 240, 267,  
  270-1, 380; (*as adv.*), 284-5,  
  446, 596, 835; frapper ort,  
  446.  
forte, 271.  
fortement, 380.  
forteresse, 483.  
fortune, 611; (la) Fortune, 184, 188,  
  232.  
fort-vêtu, forvêtu, 423.  
†forvoyer, 423.  
†forsz (*for fort-s*), *m. and f.*, 267,  
  270.  
fosse, 158.  
†fou (= focum, feu, *frv*), 96<sup>2</sup>, 143.  
fou, -s, *f.* folle, -s (= follem), 154,  
  252, 259, 262, 280, 464 (*see also*  
  fol).  
foudre, 227, 229, 230, 608.  
fouet, 160, 161.  
fougère, 154.  
†fougère, 154.  
foule, 192; (la, une) foule (de), 777,  
  781.  
four, -s, 258.  
fourbe (*m. and f.*), 243, 464.  
fourberie, 464.  
fourbu, 423.  
fourche, 194<sup>1</sup>, 577; †(unes) fourches,  
  194<sup>1</sup>, 577.  
fourchu, 482.  
fourmi, 233.  
†fourmie, 233.  
fournil, 472.  
fourvoyer, 423.  
†fradre (= frère), 92, 113.  
fragile, 500<sup>1</sup>, 551, 563.  
fragilité, 559.  
fraiche, 278.  
fraiches écloses (*pl. of fraiche éclosée*),  
  407, 589; †fraiches-tuées, 588.  
frais, 278.  
†fraische, 278.  
fraise, 127.  
fraisier, 477.  
†fraisle (= frêle), 141.  
†fraismin, 579.  
franc, -he, 274, 277, 413.  
français, -e, 188, 269, 276, 486  
  (*see also* †franceis, †françois); à  
  la française, 445.  
France, 184, 188, 232, 463<sup>2</sup>, 607.  
†franceis, -e (= français, -e), 269,  
  606.  
franche (*f. of franc, which see*).  
Franche-Comté, 248.  
franchir, 560.  
franchise, 483.

franco-anglais, 503.  
 †françois (= français), 160.  
 François, 606; François deux, 838.  
 Franque, 274, 277.<sup>2</sup>  
 frapper, 680, 691, 706.  
 †fredre, 147.  
 †frels, 127.  
 †freit (= froid), 97, 120, 127.  
 frêle, 141, 500<sup>1</sup>, 551, 863.  
 frêleté, 559.  
 frère, 147, 218, 251, 412, 434, 611  
 (*see also* †fradre).  
 †fres (= frais), 278.  
 †fresc (= frais), 278.  
 fraîche (= fraîche), 278.  
 fripon, 475, 557.  
 frire (*and pl. of*), 367.  
 (cheval de) frise, 446.  
 froid, -e, 97, 120-1, 127, 275, 456.  
 Froideval, 242.  
 †frois, 127.  
 froisser, 125<sup>1</sup>.  
 †froissier, 125<sup>1</sup>.  
 †froit (= froid), 127, 278.  
 fromage, 105, 130, 467.  
 froment, 105, 242.  
 front, 242, 414.  
 frontail, 462.  
 †frontal (*subs.*), 462.  
 frottis, 469.  
 froufrou, 444, 524.  
 †fruissier (= froisser), 125<sup>1</sup>.  
 fruit, -s, 102, 218, 219, 575.  
 †fu (= focum, feu), 96<sup>2</sup>.  
 †fu (*pl. of être*), 102<sup>1</sup>, 370.  
 †fui (*pl. of être*), 102<sup>1</sup>, 370.  
 †fuilre (= foudre), 229<sup>2</sup>.  
 fuir (*and pl. of*), 367, 684, 688, 689;  
 †se fuir, 689.  
 †fuis (*pl. of être*) 102<sup>1</sup>.  
 †fuit (*pl. of être*), 102<sup>1</sup>.  
 fulmicoton, 497.  
 fumivore, 497.  
 †funéraille, 577.  
 funérailles, 577.  
 fur, 160.  
 fus (*pl. of être*), 102<sup>1</sup>, 370.  
 fusil, 472.  
 †fust (*subs.*), 95.  
 †fustelde (= futaie), 105.  
 †fustes (*pl. of être*), 370.  
 fut (*pl. of être, which see also*), 102<sup>1</sup>,  
 582.

fût (*subs.*), 95, 414.  
 futaie, 105, 482.  
 futaillé, 473.  
 fuyard, 487.

## G.

†gab, 256.  
 gabarit, 517.  
 gâchis, 469.  
 gagne-pain, 574.  
 gal, 413.  
 †galement, 382.  
 gaillardise, 487, 483.  
 gâlement, 382.  
 gaine, 112.  
 galant, 833.  
 galantin, 475.  
 gale, 510.  
 gallo-romain, 502.  
 ganache (*subs. and adj.*), 447, 469.  
 gant, 460, 512.  
 gantelet, 460, 485.  
 garant, 463.  
 garantie, 464.  
 garçon, 224, 251.  
 garçonnet, 485.  
 garde (*pl. of garder*), 713.  
 garde (*subs. m. and f.*), 247, 251,  
 447, 719.  
 (prendre) garde, 719.  
 garde(-s)-chasse, 574<sup>1</sup>.  
 garde(-s)-malade, 574<sup>1</sup>.  
 garde-manger, 574<sup>1</sup>.  
 garder (*and pl. of*), 112, 713.  
 garde-robe, -s, 239, 574<sup>1</sup>, 844.  
 gardien, 474.  
 gare! 450.  
 †gargater, gargoter, 462.  
 garnement, mauvais garnement, 548.  
 garnir, 476, 548, 630.  
 garnison, 476.  
 gara, 224.  
 †gas (*pl. of †gab*), 256.  
 Gascogne, 112.  
 gascon, 447.  
 gastrose, 501.  
 gâter, 112.  
 gâteur, 462, 479.  
 gâteux, 462, 479.  
 gavotte, 447.  
 †gazer (= jaser), 490.  
 gazouiller, 490.

- géant, 126.  
 gébenne, 522.  
 geindre, 340, 560.  
 gel, 77, 126, 144.  
 gelée de groseille, 575.  
 gelée de pomme, -a, 576.  
 geler (*and* *Pls. of*), 350-1.  
 †gêmeau (= jumeau), 160.  
 gémir (*and* *Pls. of*), 159, 340, 458, 560.  
 gencive, 127<sup>1</sup>.  
 gendarme, 394, 396, 402.  
 gendre, 119, 251.  
 gêne, 522.  
 général, 496.  
 généralement parlant, 768.  
 généralisation, 477.  
 généraliser, 496.  
 généralissime, 285<sup>2</sup>.  
 génie, 188.  
 †genouil (= genou) 259, 471.  
 †(à) genoillons, genouillons, 378, 794.  
 genou, -x, 155, 257, 259, 262, 471.  
 †genouil, -s (= genou), 155, 257, 262.  
 †(à) genoillons, genouillons, 794, 378.  
 gens (*Pl. of* †gent, *which see*), 245-6, 257, 259; gens de bien, 591.  
 †gent, 126, 245, 257, 259.  
 †gement, 835.  
 gentil, -le, 274, 280, 380-1, 472.  
 gentillâtre, 488.  
 †gentilment, 381.  
 gentiment, 381.  
 †gens (= gens), 257.  
 géolier, -ière, 477-8.  
 Georges, 77, 224.  
 Gérard, 485.  
 Gerart, 132.  
 Géraud, 485.  
 gerbée, 481.  
 gésir (*and* *Pls. of*), 28<sup>2</sup>, 100, 374.  
 †glé (= je), 326.  
 †giel (= gel), 126, 144.  
 gigot, 485.  
 Gilles, 224.  
 gingembre, 127.  
 †gist (*Pl. of* gésir), 28<sup>2</sup>, 100.  
 †giste (= glite), 354.  
 glite, 100, 354.  
 givre, 77.  
 glace, 110, 125, 543.  
 glacial, -s, 282.  
 glacière, 478.  
 glacia, 469.  
 gland, 414; glands de chêne, 578.  
 gloire, 126.  
 †glorie, 126.  
 glorieux, 152.  
 glonglou, 444, 524.  
 goëland, 510.  
 Gonault, 485.  
 gond, 126.  
 gonfler, 694.  
 †gont, 126.  
 gorge, 76.  
 gorge-blanche, 403.  
 gorge-de-pigeon, 243.  
 gorgerette, 485.  
 †goule (= gueule), 97.  
 †gouleux, 459.  
 goulot, 485.  
 goulu, 459, 482.  
 gourdin, 475.  
 gourmandise, 483.  
 goût, 76.  
 (le) goûter, 451.  
 (ne . . .) goutte, 827, 828; n'y voir goutte, 639.  
 goutte à goutte, 379.  
 goutte asiatique (*pop.* = goutte sciatique), 493.  
 gouttière, 478.  
 gouvernail, 471.  
 †gouvernant (*subs.*), 252.  
 gouvernante, 251, 252.  
 gouverneur, 251, 252.  
 †gradir, 147.  
 †graille, 471.  
 grain, -s (= granum), 226-8.  
 (veiller au) grain (*squall*), 545.  
 †graindre (= grandior), 283.  
 graine, 226-8, 460.  
 grainetier, 460.  
 †grair, 147.  
 †graisle (= grêle), 141.  
 grammaire, 249.  
 grand, -e, 76, 120-1, 270-1, 275, 343, 380, 478, 485, 552, 832, 833 (*see also* †grant, †granz).  
 †grand coup (= beaucoup), 193.  
 grand dommage, 613.  
 grand homme, homme grand, 121, 552, 833<sup>1</sup>.



grand ouvert, *f. pl.* grandes ouvertes, 407, 589.  
 grand'chambre, 270.  
 grand'chose, 270.  
 Grand-Couronne, 270.  
 grand-croix, 270, 405.  
 grandelet, 485.  
 grandement, 284, 380.  
 grandeur, 457, 478.  
 grand'saim, 270.  
 Grand-Fontaine, 270.  
 grand'garde, 270.  
 grandir, 343.  
 †grandisme (*sup. of grand*), 283.  
 grandissime, 285.  
 Grand-lande, 270.  
 grand-livre, 398.  
 Grand'maison, 270.  
 grand-mère, 270.  
 grand-messe, 270.  
 grand-oncle, 419.  
 Grandrive, 270.  
 grand-rue, 270.  
 grand'tante, 419.  
 Grandville, 398.  
 granit, 501.  
 †granment (= grandement), 380.  
 †grant (= grand), 91, 120, 126, 275.  
 Granville = Grandville, 270.  
 †granz, 91.  
 grapin, 475.  
 gras, 281.  
 gras-double, 398.  
 gratin, 475.  
 grattoir, 455, 457.  
 graveuse, -s, 250.  
 gravir, 147.  
 †gravoi, 482.  
 gravois, 482.  
 grec, -s (*subs. and adj.*), 257, 258, 274, 447 (*see also* †grien).  
 grecque (*f. of grec*), 274.  
 greffier, 477.  
 †greignior (= grandiorum), 283.  
 grêle, 141, 414.  
 grenade, 517.  
 grenat, 517.  
 Grenelle, 130.  
 grenier, 104.  
 grenouille, 130, 471.  
 grenu, 482.  
 †greque (*f. of grec*), 274.  
 †grés (= grecs), 257, 258.

grève, 482, 510.  
 grief (*obs. as adj.*), 275.  
 †griefment, 381.  
 †griefve, 275.  
 †grien (= graecum), 92.  
 griève, 275.  
 grièvement, 381.  
 griffonner, 490.  
 griguenau, 486.  
 grille, 471.  
 grimoire, 249.  
 grippe-minaud, 441.  
 gris, -e, 273, 276, 832.  
 gris-perle, 435.  
 grognard, 487.  
 grognon, 281, 475.  
 gronder, 684.  
 gros, 276, 477, 832.  
 gros-mangeur, 573.  
 grossier, 477.  
 grotesque, 496.  
 gruyère, 446.  
 †gualne, 112.  
 †guarder, 112.  
 †guarir, 112.  
 †Guascogne, 112.  
 †guaster (= gâter), 112.  
 gué, 76, 112.  
 Guénégaud, 485.  
 guenon, 255, 470.  
 guenuche, 470.  
 guêpe, 112.  
 †guerait (= guéret), 129.  
 guère, 193, 382, 545, 825, 828;  
 †guères, 377.  
 guéret, 129.  
 guérir, 112, 159, 476, 514.  
 guérison, 476.  
 Guernelle (*vulg. for Grenelle*), 130.  
 guermouille (*vulg. for grenouille*), 130.  
 guerre, 112, 116.  
 †guespe, 112.  
 †guet (= gué), 112.  
 gueule, 97, 126, 459.  
 gui, 76.  
 guide (*m. and f.*), 247, 250.  
 guider, 554-5.  
 guillemet, 446.  
 guinderesse, 253.  
 guinée, 446.  
 gutte, 76.  
 Guyard, 487.

## H.

ha! tha las! 387-8.

habiller, 680.

hâbler, 518.

Hachard, 487.

haché menu, thachés menu, 407.

hachis, 469.

haha (*subs.*), 453.

hale! 133.

haine, 146.

hair (*and pts. of*), 357-8, 514, 706;  
thair de haine, 685.

†(il) haite, 696.

thaiçor (= altiore), 383 (*see also*  
thaucor).

thante, -s (= hampe), 579.

hardes, 577.

thardieur, -ime (*degrees of hardi*),  
285<sup>1</sup>.

(les) haricots, 79.

Haricourt, 189.

harnais, 486.

harpagon, 446.

harpon, 479.

hasard, coup de hasard, 561.

thasardeur, 462.

hasardeux, 462, 481.

hase, 255.

hâter, tæ hâter (*and pts. of*), 688.

thaubart, 149.

haubert, 149.

thaucor (= altiore), 592 (*see also*  
thaiçor).hant, 128, 283, 377, 592, 832 (*see also*  
thautisme).

hautain, 474.

hant-de-chausse, -s, 402.

hateur, 457.

thautisme (*sup. of hant*), 285.

haut-mal, 398.

Havard, 437.

thaveir (= avoir), 141.

(le) Havre, 606.

havre-sac, 191, 515.

hé! thé las! 387-8.

héberger, 563.

hébreu (*adj.*), *f.* hébraïque, 281.Hébreu (*subs.*), -e, -x, 281-2 (*see*  
*also* tebreu, tebrien).

hectomètre, 502.

their, 414.

hélas! 388, 446.

thelmes d'acer, 579.

héraut, 486.

herbe, 95.

therberge, 563.

herbette, 191, 455.

hermine, 447.

hérol-comique, 503<sup>1</sup>.heur (= augurium), 105, 127, 146<sup>1</sup>.heure (= hora), 98<sup>1</sup>.

heureux, -euse, 158, 253, 802.

hibou, 262.

hier, 78, 157<sup>1</sup>, 380.

hiver, 242.

ho! 387-8.

thoiel (= hoyau), 259.

hoir, 414, 460.

hoirie, 460.

holà! 388; (*as subs.*), 453, 570.

homard, thomart, 462.

homme, -s, 120, 191, 246, 251, 415,  
529, 531 (*see also* thons, tom,  
tome, on); homme brave, grand,  
552, 833<sup>1</sup>; homme bon, galant,  
habile, savant, triste, 833<sup>1</sup>.

homme de bien, 591.

homme de peine, 402.

honneur, 162, 248.

hongre (*as subs.*), 447.

honnête homme, 246, 613.

thons (= homme), 221.

honte, 450.

hôpital, 67.

thor, 422.

hormis, 423, 450, 773, 807.

horoscope, 236.

horreur, 162, 248.

hors (*prep., used also as adv. and*  
*prefix*), 385, 422, 432, 438, 807  
(*see also* fors).

hors de, 807.

thors du sens, 438.

hors que, 807.

hors-d'œuvre, 423, 438.

hortensia, 240.

hôte, -sse, 66, 149, 252, 484.

hôtel, 105, 149 (*see also*†otel).

hôtel-Dieu, 401, 438.

houssine, 475.

hoyau, -x, 152, 259.

hu! 524.

huer, 524.

thui, 376, 835.

huile, 196<sup>1</sup>.  
 huis, 196<sup>1</sup>.  
 huit, 101, 162, 194, 196.  
 huitain, 196, 205.  
 huitaine, 205, 474.  
 thuitante, 197, 199.  
 thuiteine, 474.  
 huitième, 196, 204.  
 thuitième, 204.  
 humain, 415.  
 humanitaire, 495.  
 humanité, 531.  
 humeur, 248.  
 hydrogène, 502.  
 hyène, 254.  
 hymne, 236.  
 hyperchlorure, 506.  
 hypoazotique, 506.  
 hypotypose, 506.

## I.

ti (= y), 298, 376, 698.  
 ti a (= il y a), 698.  
 ticel, -s, 311.  
 ticele, 311.  
 ticelei, 311.  
 ticeli, 311.  
 ticelle, -s, 309, 311.  
 ticelui, 309, 311.  
 ticest, 309.  
 ticeste, -s, 310.  
 ticestei, 310.  
 ticesti, 309.  
 ticestui, 309.  
 ticeux, 309.  
 ticez, 309, 310.  
 ici, 309, 313, 384, 647, 835.  
 icil, 308, 309, 311.  
 ticist, 308, 309.  
 tico, 308, 309.  
 idéal, 282.  
 tidle (= idole), 230<sup>1</sup>.  
 idole, 230.  
 tieo (= je), 290.  
 tiere, -s, -t, -nt, &c. (*pls. of être*),  
 369, 370.  
 t(l')ierre (= lierre), 444.  
 ignoble, -s, 547.  
 ignorer, 683, 716.  
 til (= illi, *nom. pl.*), 95<sup>1</sup>, 295.  
 il, -s (*pers. pron.*), 95<sup>1</sup>, 181, 289<sup>1</sup>,  
 292-5, 297, 311, 621-2 (*see also*  
 tilz).

il (*neut. or imp. pron.*), 297-8, 622,  
 652, 744, 785-6.  
 til a (= il y a), 639; til i a, 698;  
 til va de (= il y va de), 639; il  
 y a, 639, 698; il est certain, il est  
 vrai, que, 311, 714; il se peut  
 faire que, 716. (*For other imper-*  
*sonal verbs with il for subject*  
*[e. g. il pleut], see the verb.*)  
 ille, 67.  
 Ilion, 232.  
 tillec, 143<sup>1</sup>.  
 tilluec, 143<sup>1</sup>.  
 tilors (= alors), 379.  
 ilôt, 67, 485.  
 tilz (= ils, *accented use*), 624.  
 (s')imaginer, 736.  
 immensément, 382.  
 imminence, 496.  
 imminent, 496.  
 implacable, 499.  
 importer, 698.  
 timposer à (= en imposer à), 636.  
 impossible, 592.  
 impromptu, 494.  
 impunément, 382.  
 impuni, -e, 382.  
 timpunément, 382.  
 impure, 68.  
 incapable, 704.  
 incomplet, -ète, 276.  
 (les) Indes, 607.  
 indienne (*adj. and subs.*), 447.  
 indigo (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 indiscret, -ète, 275.  
 in-dix-huit, 498.  
 inextinguible, 499.  
 inférieur, -e, 279.  
 (une) infinité (de), 781, 782.  
 in-folio, 498.  
 inimitié, 144.  
 injuste, 68, 499.  
 inquiet, -ète, 276.  
 insulte, 248.  
 insulter, 248.  
 insurgé (*partic. and subs.*), 480, 570.  
 interdire, 424.  
 interligne, 247, 425.  
 internat, 496.  
 interocéanique, 415.  
 intervalle, 236.  
 intrigue, 237.  
 iral, -s, &c. (*pls. of aller*), 352.

iroquois, 447.  
irriter, 680.  
isard, 517.  
tissir, 352.  
iasu (*pl. of* tissir), 352.  
iarue (*subs.*), 449, 532.  
†ist (= iste), 91, 308.  
†iste, 308.  
Italie, 607.  
tîve (= equa, *marr*), 101, 109.  
ivoire, 237.  
tivorin, 579.  
ivre-mort, *pl.* ivres-morts, 407, 589.  
ivresse, 483.  
ivrogne, -*see*, 252.

## J.

j' (= je), 290.  
†ja, 103, 128, 148, 376.  
Jacques, 224 (*see also* †Jaques).  
Jacquot, 447, 485.  
jadis, 377.  
†jalos, 112.  
†jalous, 112.  
jalousie, 464.  
jaloux, -*se*, 112, 276, 464, 802.  
jamais, 380, 384, 826-7, 829.  
jambe, 558.  
janvier, 109.  
Japon, 232, 607.  
†Japonois (= Japonais), 160.  
†Jaques, 128.  
jars, 255.  
jaser, 490, 514.  
jatte, 562.  
jannâire, 488.  
jaunisse, 469.  
†jayant (= géant), 126.  
je, 67, 77, 84, 94, 133, 181, 289, 290, 292, 309, 326, 624.  
je soussigné, 290, 624.  
Jean, 188.  
jean-jean, 446.  
Jeanne, 184, 188.  
jeanneton, 475.  
jeannot, 446.  
†jeo (= je), 290.  
Jérusalem, 223.  
†suite (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
†eter (*pl. of*), 350, 351.  
jeton, 475.

jeu, -x, 96, 144, 158, 262 (*see also* †jou = jooum).  
jeudi, 400.  
jeun, 69.  
jeune, 485, 612, 832.  
jeunet, 485.  
†jieu (= jeu), 96, 144.  
†jiou (= jeu), 96, 143.  
†jo (= je), 290, 309, 326.  
joie, 126, 226.  
joindre (*and pl. of*), 119, 124, 127, 368.  
joint, 124.  
jointure, 382, 481.  
†joliement, 382.  
joliment, 596.  
jonchée, 481.  
jonquille, 243.  
†jorn (= jour), 95, 110, 258-9.  
†jors (= jour), 258.  
†jou (= ego, je), 290, 309.  
†jou (= jooum, jeu), 92.  
†jou (= jugum, joug), 92.  
joue (*cheek*), 41, 481, 558, 562.  
jouée, 481.  
jouer, 686, 689, 690; se jouer, 690.  
joujou, 262.  
jour, 83, 95, 110, 258, 459, 608; jour de fête, 578; jour de l'an, 530; jours ouvrables, 473.  
journal (*subs. and adj.*), 445, 459, 472, 530.  
journalisme, 496.  
journaliste, 496.  
journée, 158, 459.  
†jovente (*syn. of* jeunesse), 635.  
†ju (= jeu), 96.  
juger, 714.  
juif (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
jujube, 112.  
Jules, 224.  
jumeau, -x, -elle, 153, 160, 280, 281.  
†jumel (= jumeau), 280.  
jument, 226, 243, 255.  
junte, 69.  
jupon, 475.  
†jurat (= juravit), 743.  
jurer, 714.  
†jus (*adv.*), 376.  
jusqu'à, 743, 748.  
jusqu'à ce que, 387, 726.  
jusque, 95, 110, 379; (= jusqu'à ce que), 726.

jusqu'ici, 835.  
 justaucorps, 402.  
 juste, 273; (*as adv.*), chanter juste,  
 446.  
 justesse, 455, 483.  
 justice, -s, 575.  
 †jaz (= juste, *m.*), 273.

## K.

†Karle (= Charles), 92.  
 †Karlo (= Charles), 92.  
 †Karlus (= Charles), 92.  
 †kene, 98.  
 kilomètre, 502.  
 kirsch, 515.  
 knout, 516.

## L.

l' (= la, le, †li, †lo), 299 (*see also* le);  
*euphonic in* †dira l'on, &c., 328.  
 la (*phonetics, and use as pron.*), 84<sup>1</sup>,  
 103, 293, 296, 311, 630-3; (*use*  
*as art.*), 293, 298-9. (*See also* le.)  
 là, 84<sup>1</sup>, 103, 299, 313, 376, 384, 388,  
 839.  
 labeur, 249.  
 Labbé, 444.  
 labour, 249.  
 labourer, 249.  
 lac, -s, 257.  
 lâcher, 144.  
 ladre (*subs. and adj.*), -esse, 252,  
 446, 447, 605.  
 †ladron (= larron), 220.  
 Lafont, 269.  
 Lagny, 100.  
 laid, 461, 478.  
 laideron, 250, 461, 475.  
 laideur, 478.  
 laie, 255.  
 laine, 468.  
 †laira (= laissera), 627.  
 †larme (= larme) 39, 149.  
 †lais (= legs), 225.  
 laisse, 66.  
 laisser (*and pls. of*), 144, 225, 627,  
 694, 705, 736, 737, 741, 742, 847  
 (*see also* †laissier).  
 laisser aller (*inf.*), 695; (*subs.*), 406.  
 †laissier, 100, 106, 124, 144.  
 lait, 461; lait d'ânesse, 578; lait  
 d'ânon (*vulg. for* laudanum), 493.

laitage, 461, 468.  
 laiterie, 461, 465.  
 laitier, 461.  
 laitue, 123, 468.  
 †laitugue, 123.  
 Lallemand, 606.  
 lambria, 120.  
 lame, 120.  
 lamentable, 473.  
 lamenter, 686.  
 Lamothe, 606.  
 lampe, 117, 476.  
 lampion, 476.  
 lance, 125.  
 lancer, 40<sup>1</sup>.  
 lance-tonnerre, 443.  
 landan, -s, 262.  
 lange, 109.  
 Langlois, 444.  
 langue, 139, 188.  
 lansquenet, 515.  
 †laor (= labeur), 249.  
 laque, 247.  
 †lare (= large, *m.*), 273, 277, 278.  
 larcin, 94, 159.  
 lard, 120.  
 large, 273, 278, 478 (*see also* †lare).  
 largesse, 454.  
 largeur, 457, 478.  
 arme, 39, 149, 491.  
 larmoyer, 491.  
 †larrecin (= larcin), 94, 159.  
 larron, -s, 220, 475.  
 †lart (= lard), 120.  
 las (= lassum), -se, 276; (*as*  
*interj.*), 388, 446; lasse chétive!  
 388.  
 †las (= lac, *pl. of* lac), 257.  
 †laschier (= lâcher) 144.  
 laudanum, 493.  
 laurier, 98.  
 lavage, 232, 454-7, 468.  
 Laval, 242, 271, 444.  
 lavande, 486.  
 †lavandier, 250<sup>2</sup>; lavandière, 250,  
 486.  
 lavasse, 456, 468.  
 laver (*and pls. of*), 46, 111, 113,  
 333, 457, 468.  
 laveur, 457, 468<sup>1</sup>.  
 lavez (*pl. of* laver), 46.  
 lavis, 469.  
 lavons (*pl. of* laver), 46.

- (†le) Lazare, 605.  
 Lazarus, 446, 447.  
 †lazer (= ladre), 605.  
 le (*phonetics, and use as pron.*), 45, 67, 289, 293-4, 297, 630-3; (*use as art.*), 293, 298-300, 311, 328, 603-8, 642-3; (*use as logical neuter*), 630-3.  
 Le Havre, 606.  
 Le Nostre, 606.  
 le plus, 285, 598.  
 léans, 139, 806.  
 lebel, 446.  
 Lebreton, 606.  
 leçon, 110, 125, 476.  
 †ledre (= larron), 220.  
 †lef, †lefs (*pl. of laver*), 46, 333.  
 Lestèvre, 444.  
 Lefrançais, 606.  
 légal, -aux, 282.  
 léger, -ère, 144, 279; à la légère, 445.  
 légèreté, 482.  
 †legier (= léger), 144.  
 legs, 224-5.  
 léguer, 225.  
 légumes, 576.  
 †lei (= legem, *lat.*), 141.  
 †lei (= illai), 295-7.  
 Lejeune, 444.  
 Lemoine, 444.  
 lendemain, 443.  
 lent, -e, 381.  
 lentement, 381.  
 lentille, 471.  
 †leon, -s (= lion), 219.  
 lépreux, 159.  
 lequel (*including lesquels, laquelle, lesquelles, auquel, duquel, &c.*), 208, 315, 659, 660, 663-5, 667, 669, 674-7.  
 †lequel que . . ., 733.  
 †lerme (= larme), 149.  
 †lerre, -s (= larron), 220-1.  
 les (*pron.*) (= illos), 132, 294-5, 297-8, 630-3; (= illas), 132, 295-8, 311, 630-3; (*as article*), 293, 298-300; les haricots, 79. (*See also le.*)  
 †les (*pl. of laver*), 46, 333.  
 †les (= legs), 225.  
 les, les, or †lez (*which see also*) (*prop.* = latua), 226, 402.  
 lèse-majesté, 298.  
 lestement, 159.  
 †let (*pl. of laver*), 46.  
 †(unes) lettres (= lettre, *epistle*), 194, 577.  
 †letret (= lettre), 104.  
 †letrin (= lutrin), 160.  
 lettré, 104.  
 lettre, *see* †(unes) lettres; †lettres royaux, 269.  
 †leu (*pl. of lire*), 364.  
 leur, -s, 288, 293-5, 297, 304, 306-7, 630, 641, 643.  
 levant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 †leve, -s, -t, -nt (*pl. of laver*), 46, 333.  
 †levediz, †leveis, †levelz (= levis), 469.  
 Lévêque, 444.  
 lever, se lever (*and pl. of*), 46, 113, 334, 350, 354<sup>2</sup>, 469, 693, 695.  
 levez (*pl. of lever*), 46.  
 (le) levier (*pop. for l'évier*), 444.  
 levis, 469.  
 lévite, 247.  
 levons (*pl. of lever*), 46.  
 levraut, 486.  
 lèvres, 226, 228.  
 levrette, 255.  
 levrier, 255.  
 †lez (= les), 222, 226, 385, 402.  
 †li (*art.*, = illi, *nom. masc. sing. and pl.*), 298.  
 †li (*pers. pron.* = illi, *dat. sing.*), 293-6.  
 libérateur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 libérer, 493, 560.  
 liberté, -s, 574.  
 libraire, 464.  
 librairie, 464-5, 541.  
 licon, 393, 396.  
 †lies, &c. (*pl. of lever*), 46.  
 lien, *see* †li-lien.  
 lier, 78, 393.  
 (le) lierre (= †lierre), 444.  
 liet (*pl. of lever*), 46.  
 lieu, 78, 96<sup>2</sup>, 158, 433 (*see also* †liou, †lou = locum); en son lieu et place, 581.  
 lieutenant, 406; lieutenant de roi, 608.  
 †lieve, -s, -nt (*pl. of lever*), 46, 334.  
 lièvre, 255.  
 ligne, 109, 418.

- lignite, 501.  
 †lien (= lien), 127.  
 †lil (= lis), 225.  
 lilas (*subs. and adj.*), 435, 436<sup>1</sup>, 447, 591.  
 lilacées, 495.  
 lilées, 495.  
 Lille, 444.  
 limaille, 227, 455, 473.  
 limite, 238.  
 linceul, -s, 125, 155, 257, 261, 470.  
 †linceus (= linceuls), 155.  
 †linceux (= linceuls) 257.  
 †linquel (= linceul), 125.  
 lingé, 109, 413.  
 lion, -s, -ne, 111, 255, 475 (*see also* †leon).  
 †liou (= lieu), 96<sup>1</sup>, 143.  
 lippu, 482.  
 liquéfacteur, 497.  
 liquéfaction, 497.  
 liquéfier, 497.  
 lire (*and pls. of*), 101, 331-2, 340-1, 362, 364, 367, 372-3, 458, 707.  
 lis (*subs.*), 224-5, 470.  
 lisant (*pl. of lire*), 332.  
 lisserolle, 470.  
 lisette, 441, 443.  
 liseur, 458.  
 liasse, 67.  
 liaser, 421.  
 listel, 153.  
 lit (*pl. of lire*), 101.  
 †niveau (= niveau), 129.  
 †livel (= niveau), 129.  
 livraison, 476.  
 livre, -s (= librum, *book*), 66, 189, 218, 219, 221, 267.  
 livre (= libra, *pound*), 541.  
 livrer, 476.  
 livret, 485.  
 livret-police, 436.  
 †lis (= lis), 225.  
 †lo (= le), 294, 298-9, 311.  
 †loer (= louer, *to praise, and pls. of*), 105, 346-7, 693.  
 loge d'avant-scène, 412, 437.  
 logicien, 495.  
 logique, 495.  
 loi, 74, 141.  
 loin, 70, 150, 279.  
 †loing, 150.  
 Loing (*river*), 189.  
 lointain, 474.  
 Loire, 189.  
 †lois (= louche, *m.*), 273.  
 loisir, -s (*subs.*), 451.  
 †(il) loist (= est loisible), 696.  
 †lombril (= nombril), 444.  
 l'on, 244, 328 (*see also on*).  
 †long (= long), 120, 140, 277, 278.  
 Londres, 188, 232.  
 long, -ue, 120-1, 140, 274, 277-8, 832.  
 †longe (= longue), 278.  
 †longes, 377.  
 longitude, 495.  
 longtemps, 377<sup>2</sup>.  
 Longue-Epée, 405.  
 longuement, 835.  
 longue-vue, 404.  
 †lor (= laurum), 98.  
 †lor (= illorum, *leur*), 295.  
 †loriol, 462.  
 loriot, 462.  
 lors, 379.  
 lorsque, 45<sup>1</sup>, 725.  
 †loru (= leur), 295.  
 losange, 249.  
 †lossignol (= rossignol), 129.  
 †lot (*pl. of †loer*), 346.  
 †lou (= locum, *lieu*), 92<sup>1</sup>.  
 †lou (= lupum, *loup*), 92<sup>1</sup>.  
 louable, 457.  
 louche (*m. and f.*), 273.  
 louer (*to praise*), 105, 347, 351, 691, 693, 706 (*see also †loer*).  
 louis, 446.  
 loup, 255, 435 (*see also †lou = lupum*).  
 loup-garou, 435.  
 lourdaud, 486.  
 lourdisse, 457.  
 loutre (*m. and f.*), 447.  
 louvat, 484.  
 louve, 255.  
 lovelace, 446.  
 loyal, 472.  
 loyalemeut, †loyalmeut, †loyau-  
 meut, 269, 381.  
 †lox (*pl. of †loer*), 346.  
 Lozère, 189.  
 †lu (= locum, *lieu*), 96<sup>1</sup>.  
 †lu (= locum, *pl. of lire*), 364.  
 luciole, 471.  
 lacte, 443.

lui (*phonetics, and use as dative*),  
74, 142, 288-9, 295-7, 630, 697,  
789.  
lui (*accented accusat.*), 289, 294, 297,  
623.  
lui-même, 307.  
lundi, 400, 608, 831.  
lune, 188, 608.  
lunettes, 577.  
lupin, 579.  
lutrin, 160.  
lyre, 66-7.

## M.

ma, 67, 103, 111 (*see also mon*);  
ma mie (= m'amie), 303.  
mâcher, 40<sup>2</sup>.  
machiavel, 446.  
machine à coudre, à vapeur, 402.  
mâchonner, 490.  
madame, 398, 434.  
mademoiselle, 398.  
madone, 562.  
†maent (= manet), 102.  
†maesté, 128.  
maffiu, 482.  
†la Magdelaine, 605.  
†maieur, 128, 284.  
maigre, 100, 122, 241, 832.  
maigreux, 241.  
maillet, 470.  
mailloche, 470.  
†maillol, 462.  
maillot, 462.  
main, -s, 91, 102, 190, 221.  
main d'œuvre, 402.  
main-chaude, 398.  
†malandre (= le remain), 340.  
mainmortable, 472.  
maint (*adj.*), 206-7, 754.  
†maint (= manet), 102.  
maintenant, 383.  
maintenir, 440.  
maintien, 453.  
†maior, †maieur, 128.  
maire, 221, 284-5, 464.  
mairerie (*vulg. for mairie*), 464.  
mairie, 464.  
mais († *as adv.* = davantage), 376,  
636<sup>1</sup>; (*as conj.*), 386; †mais ...  
que, 819.  
maison, 531.  
maisonnette, 485.  
maitre, -sse, 252, 484, 611.  
maitre-clerc, 434.  
maitre-es-arts, 402.  
(Sa) Majesté, 434.  
majeur, -e, 279, 284 (*see †maieur*).  
mal (= malum, *subst.*), *pl.* maux,  
103, 188, 257.  
mal (= male, *adv. and prefix*),  
284, 384, 411, 418, 432.  
†mal apertement (*adv.*), 836.  
malachite, 238, 501.  
malade, 464.  
maladie, 464.  
maladif, 483.  
maladroit, 406.  
malaise, 234.  
malaisé, 418.  
malandrin, 521.  
†malastru, 468.  
mâle, 28<sup>1</sup>, 95, 254, 832.  
malédiction, 500.  
malembouché, 418.  
malentendu, 406, 418.  
malfaçon, 398.  
malfaiteur, 478.  
malgré, 151, 385, 545; malgré que,  
732.  
malheur, 146<sup>1</sup>, 398.  
malhonnête, 418, 551.  
Malibran, 232.  
malin, -igne, 278-9.  
†maline (= maligne), 279<sup>1</sup>.  
malines (*lace*), 446.  
malintentionné, 406.  
malle-poste, 436.  
malmener, 418.  
†malostru, 468.  
malotru, 468.  
malpropre, 418.  
†mals (= *pl. of mal*), 103.  
†malsade, 151.  
malurater, 395, 418.  
malveillance, 418.  
malveillant, 418.  
malverser, 418.  
†malveuillant, 418.  
maman, 551.  
mamour, -s (= m'amour, -s), 303.  
manche, 247.  
mandarin, 191, 517.  
mander, 718.



mânes, 238.  
 †mangeans, 28.<sup>1</sup>  
 manger, 144, 558, 706; (*pls. of*), 28<sup>1</sup>, 346, 349, 351, 711, 777; (*as subs.*), 451, 735. (*See also* †mangier.)  
 mangeras (*pt. of manger*), 711.  
 †mangier (*and pls. of*), 100, 144, 349 (*see also* manger).  
 †mangir (*and pls. of; dialectal for manger*), 346, 349.  
 manoeuvre, 247.  
 manoeuvrer, 440.  
 manoir (*†use as vb. = to remain*), 247, 340; (*as subs.*), 451.  
 manquer, 699, 736; manquer de courtoisie, 610.  
 mansion, 435.  
 manteau, -x, 153, 154, 257, 259, 262.  
 †manteaus, 153.  
 †mantel (= manteau), 153, 154, 257, 259.  
 mantelet, 154.  
 †mar (= mala hora), 380.  
 marais, 486.  
 marâtre, 251, 399, 488.  
 marbré, 481.  
 †marbrin, 579.  
 marchand, 462.  
 †marchant, 462.  
 marché, 100, 104<sup>1</sup>, 149.  
 marche-pied, 442.  
 --- marcher, 144, 683; (*†as subs.*), 735.  
 †marchier, 144.  
 †marchiet (= marché), 100, 104<sup>1</sup>.  
 mardi, 400, 831.  
 maréchal, 509, 541.  
 †mareschal (= maréchal), 509.  
 Margot, 447, 485.  
 mari, 251.  
 (une) mariée, 449.  
 marin, 107, 414-5, 459.  
 marion, 475.  
 maritime, 579.  
 †marle (= marne), 510.  
 marmalade de pommes, 517.  
 marmorin, 579.  
 marne, 510.  
 marneron, 461.  
 maroquin, 447.  
 marquer, 149.

marqueter, 490.  
 marquis, -e, 252, 486.  
 marraine, 251.  
 Marseillais, 486.  
 marteau, 484.  
 martel (en tête), 153.  
 martin, 441, 447.  
 Martin-bâton, 434.  
 martinet, 447.  
 Martin-sec, 404.  
 Martin-Sire, 404.  
 †masle (= mâle, *which see*), 95.  
 masque, 247.  
 masse, 468.  
 massif, 483.  
 †massis, 483.  
 massue, 468.  
 mat (*checkmate*), 522.  
 mat, -e (*dull*), 275.  
 Matapan, 189.  
 †matériel, -aux, 260.  
 matériaux, 260, 577.  
 matériel, 260.  
 matin, 103.  
 maturité, 500<sup>1</sup>, 559.  
 maudire, 418.  
 †maugré (= *malgré*), 151.  
 maugréer, 151.  
 maussade, 151, 418.  
 mauvais, 284; (le) mauvais vouloir, 451; mauvaise humeur, 613; mauvaise tête, 573.  
 mauve (*subs. and adj.*), 243, 447.  
 maux (*pl. of mal, which see*), 257.  
 mazagran, 446.  
 mazurka, 516.  
 me, 67, 94, 133, 289, 291-2.  
 Mécène, 506.  
 méchance, 375.  
 méchanceté, 375.  
 méchant, 375, 425.  
 mécontent, 406, 425.  
 mécontenter, 425.  
 mécréant, 406, 425.  
 médaille, 476, 520.  
 médaillon, 476.  
 †medesme (= même), 208, 308.  
 médire (*and pls. of*), 373, 425.  
 médisance, 425.  
 †medre (= mère), 118, 221.  
 †meesme, 208, 308.  
 méfaire, 425.  
 (se) méfier, 425.

- mégarde, 425.  
 †mei (= moi), 91, 97, 141, 391-2, 304.  
 †meie, -s (= mienne, -s), 304, 834.  
 meilleur, 283-5, 592.  
 †meillor (= meilleur), 284, 592.  
 †meils (= mieux), 155.  
 †(tu) meins (= minas), 107.  
 †meins (= moins), 107, 141, 376.  
 †meis (= mois), 117<sup>2</sup>.  
 mélange, 249.  
 mêler, 93.  
 †(il) membre (*pt.*), 696.  
 (les) membres, 635.  
 membru, 482.  
 même, -s (*adj., adv., and subs.*), 206, 208, 285, 307-8, 584-5, 614, 833.  
 mémoire (*m. and f.*), 247.  
 menace (*pt. of menacer*), 28<sup>1</sup>.  
 menace (*subs.*), 468.  
 mendiante (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 mēnent (*pt. of mener*), 47.  
 †meneur (= minoreim), 284.  
 mener (*and pts. of*), 47, 554.  
 †mencz (= minatis), 107.  
 menhir, 510.  
 †menteor (= menteur), 220.  
 †mentère, 220.  
 †menterresse, 480.  
 menterie, 464.  
 menteur, -euse, 220, 253, 464, 479, 480.  
 mentir (*and pts. of*), 367, 479; (*as subs.*), 570.  
 menton, 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 menu, 107.  
 †meolle (= moëlle), 146.  
 †meos (= meus), 303<sup>1</sup>.  
 méphistophélès, 446.  
 méplat, 425.  
 méprendre, 407; se méprendre, 425.  
 méprise, 425.  
 mer, 67, 97, 107, 138, 191, 226, 459.  
 †merché (= marché), 149.  
 merci, 101, 117, 122, 242-3; (Dieu) merci, 831.  
 †mercit (= merci), 117.  
 mercredi, 400.  
 mère, 40, 118, 221-2, 251, 412, 611.  
 mère-patrie, 434.  
 merle, 95.  
 †merquer (= marquer), 149.  
 merveille, 105, 109, 227, 473.  
 mes, 132, 641 (*see also mon*).  
 mésaise, 425.  
 mésalliance, 425.  
 mésallier, 425.  
 mésavenir, 407.  
 mésaventure, 406, 412, 425.  
 †meschéance, 375.  
 †mescheant, 375, 425.  
 †mescheoir, 425.  
 mesdames, 398.  
 mesdemoiselles, 398.  
 mésestimer, 425.  
 mésintelligence, 425.  
 †mealer (= mêler), 93.  
 †mesme, -s (= même), 208, 285, 584.  
 Mesnil-le-Guérin, 401.  
 messenger, -ère, 157.  
 messe, 95, 138, 363, 450, 608.  
 Messie, 607.  
 messieurs, 398.  
 messire, 302, 398.  
 †mestice (= métisse), 277.  
 †mestiz (= métis), 277.  
 mésuser, 425.  
 met (*pt. of mettre*), 138.  
 méris, -se, 277.  
 mets (*subs.*), 363, 450.  
 mettre (*and pts. of*), 120, 138, 361, 367, 412, 450; mettre en peine, 610; mettre fin, 610.  
 meuble, 500<sup>1</sup>, 563, 680.  
 meubler, 680.  
 †meure (= mora, mûre), 160.  
 meure (*pt. of mourir*), 712.  
 meurs, meurt (*pts. of mourir*), 335, 337.  
 meurtre, 547.  
 meurtrir, 547.  
 Meusc, 158.  
 meute, 456.  
 †mévenir, *see* †(il) mévient.  
 †(il) mévient, 606.  
 Mexique, 232, 607.  
 †mi (= medium, *prep. and prefix*), 582, 614 (*see also Index of Prefixes*).  
 †mi (= moi), 303.  
 mi-août, 242.  
 mica, 240.  
 Mi-Carême, 242.  
 midi, 241, 608.  
 mie (= mica), 193, 612; †ne ... mie, 827, 828, 829.

- (ma) mie (= m'amie), 303.  
 miel, 96.  
 †mieux (= meilleur), 284.  
 †miels (= mieux), 284.  
 mien, -s, -ne, -nes, 68, 145, 303-5, 307, 641-2, 645 (*see also* †meie, †moie).  
 miette, 193.  
 †mieus (= mieux), 284.  
 mieux, 155, 283, 284, 595; mieux (= plutôt) . . . que (*with subj.*) 595, 734, (*with inf.*) 737.  
 mignard, 547.  
 migraine, 510.  
 mi-janvier, 242.  
 mil, 95, 199, 228, 600, 602; †mil et trois, 407; mil trois, 407.  
 †milante (= mille fois), 200.  
 †miliasse (= milliard), 200.  
 †millie (*pl.* of mille), 200.  
 mille, 199, 200, 228, 599, 602; mille et une (nuits), 407.  
 mille-feuille, 405.  
 mille-graine(-s), 405.  
 milliard, 200-1.  
 millième, 204.  
 millier, 104, 200.  
 millimètre, 502.  
 million, -s, 200, 602, 782.  
 millionième, 204.  
 mimi, 444.  
 minaud, 441.  
 mineur, -e, 279, 284.  
 miniature, 547.  
 ministère, 531.  
 minium, 547.  
 minuit, 241.  
 mioche, 470.  
 miracle, 228.  
 mirent (*pl.* of mettre), 120.  
 mirer, 104.  
 †misdrent (*pl.* of mettre), 120.  
 misérable état, 613.  
 mistral, 517.  
 mitrailleuse (*subs. and adj.*), 445.  
 mobile, 500<sup>1</sup>, 563.  
 †mocquons (*pl.* of †moquer, moquer), 688.  
 mode, 247.  
 modiste, 250.  
 moëlle, 146, 160, 161.  
 moeurs, 248.  
 moi, 74, 97, 141, 289, 291, 292, 304, 448, 635; (*as accented nom.*), 625-6.  
 (le) moi, 448, 570.  
 (le non-)moi, 448.  
 †moie, -s, moye, -s (= mienne, -s), 304, 642.  
 †moien (= moyen), 145.  
 moinaire, 473.  
 moindre, 283, 284, 285.  
 moine, 110, 510; moinesse (*in context*), 252.  
 moins (*adv. and prefix*), 107, 141<sup>1</sup>, 193, 283-4, 376, 384, 425, 432, 597.  
 moins que, 725.  
 moins-value, 425, 427.  
 mois, 117<sup>2</sup>; mois d'hiver, 578.  
 moisir, 106, 340.  
 moissonneuse, 480.  
 †moit (= moite, *m.*), 273.  
 moite (*m. and f.*), 273.  
 moitié, 144.  
 mol, -lle, †-s, -lles (*see also* mou), 154, 269, 280.  
 †moldre (= moudre) 119, 372.  
 Molièresque, 496.  
 mollasse, 469.  
 mollet, 485.  
 †mois (= mous), 154.  
 †molt (= multum), 835 (*see also* †mout).  
 mon (*including* ma, mes), 137, 181, 302-3, 306, 641, 645-6; mon ami, 75<sup>1</sup>.  
 monarchie, 492.  
 monastère, 560.  
 monde, 69.  
 †monie (= moine), 110.  
 monnaie, 399 (*see also* †monnaie).  
 monnayeur, 399.  
 †monnaie (= monnaie), 160.  
 monogramme, 247.  
 monseigneur, 302, 398.  
 monsieur, 398, 434, 479.  
 mont, -s, 189; (par) monts et par vaux, 242.  
 Montaigne, 398.  
 mont-de-piété, 402.  
 (une) montée, 449.  
 monter, 429, 551, 685-7.  
 montrer, 697; il se montre, 697.  
 Montrouge, 189, 398.  
 moquer, se moquer, 688-9.  
 morbleu! 401.

mordant (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 mordienne! 401.  
 mordien, 401.  
 mordiller, 490.  
 mordre (*and pls. of*), 363, 693.  
 morfondre, 440.  
 morguienne! 401.  
 morguien! 401.  
 †mourir, 111.  
 morphine, 475.  
 †morrai (*pl. of mourir*), 338.  
 mors (*subs.*), 363, 450.  
 mort (= mortuum, *partic.*), 361.  
 mort (= mortem, *subs.*), 66, 67, 93, 111, 231, 231, 317; mort naturelle, violente, 613.  
 mort-Dieu! 401.  
 mortel, -elle, 103, 103, 154<sup>1</sup>, 269, 271, 380, 472.  
 mortellement, 381.  
 †mortelment, 381.  
 mot à mot, 379.  
 mou, -s, 154, 280, 485 (*see also* mol).  
 mouchard, 487.  
 mouche, 461, 470.  
 (se) moucher, 536-7.  
 moucheron, 471.  
 mouchette, 485; mouchettes, 577.  
 mouchoir, mouchoir de cou, 536-7.  
 moudre (*and pls. of*), 119, 372.  
 moujik, 516.  
 moulin, -s, à vent, 573.  
 mourgeline, 441.  
 mourir (*and pls. of*), 111, 316-7, 322, 335, 337-8, 361, 365, 683-5, 688, 712; se mourir (*and pls. of*), 688.  
 mousseline, 446.  
 moustachu, 482.  
 †mout (= multum), 284, 809 (*see also* †molt).  
 moutardier, 478.  
 moutier, 560.  
 mouton, 255.  
 moutonnier, 477.  
 mouver (*sup. for mouvoir*), 340.  
 mouvoir (*and pls. of*), 105, 340, 365.  
 †mouvre (= mouvoir), 340.  
 †mouvoir, 105.  
 moyen, 68, 78, 145.  
 moyennant, 385.

†muder (= muer), 113, 145, 147.  
 muer, 145 (*see also* †muder).  
 muet, -te, 275-6.  
 †muète (= muette), 276.  
 †mui (= muid), 101.  
 muid, 101.  
 mulâtre, -sse, 252.  
 mule, 255.  
 mulet, 255.  
 multicolore, 497.  
 multiforme, 497.  
 multitude, 192.  
 munir, 680.  
 mur, -s, 115, 190, 217, 219, 231, 343, 490.  
 mûr, 500<sup>1</sup>.  
 muraille, -s, 109, 136.  
 mûre (= mora, †meure), 160.  
 murer, 343, 490.  
 mûreté, 559.  
 muse (= musette), 434.  
 musette, 434.  
 musser, 510.  
 mysticisme, 496.

## N.

nacelle, 484.  
 nacre, 481.  
 nacure, 481.  
 nager, 549, 560 (*see also* †nagier).  
 †nagier (*pls. of*), 348.  
 naguère, 382, 698.  
 naïtre (*and pls. of*), 28<sup>1</sup>, 317, 361, 683.  
 naïveté, 482.  
 †nape, 113, 129.  
 napoléon, 446.  
 nappe, 113, 129.  
 nation, 70.  
 national, 472.  
 naturalisme, 496.  
 naturaliste, 496; romancier naturaliste, 496<sup>1</sup>.  
 nature, 188, 412, 610.  
 †Nautre (= Le Noëtre), 606.  
 naval, 282.  
 naviguer, 549, 560.  
 navire, 249.  
 †ne (= neo, ni), 822-3.  
 ne (= non, *alonic*), 377, 593-4, 818-23, 825-9, 836-8 (*see also* †nen).

†ne . . . un ail, bouton, denier, létu, 827; ne . . . goutte, 827-8; †ne . . . mie, 193, 612, 827-8; †ne . . . moins, 820; ne . . . pas, 193, 545, 818, 820-1, 827-9, 836-8; ne . . . plus, 820; ne . . . point, 193, 545, 818, 820-1, 827-9, 837; †ne . . . un pois, 827; ne . . . que, 819, 820.

né, -e (*pl. of* naître), 28<sup>2</sup>, 317, 361. (il est) nécessaire, 721.

nécessairement, 384.

†ned (= ni), 822.

nef, -s, 257, 258.

néfle, 113.

négre, -se, 252.

†neieds (= necatos), 141.

†neier (= negare), 123.

neigeux, 481.

†neilier (= necare, *and pl. of*), 123, 141.

†neier (= negare, *and pl. of*), 100, 127.

†neir, -s (= noir), 127, 266.

(un) ne-m'oubliez-pas, 440, 442.

†nen (= non, *atonic*), 115, 383.

†nenni, †nennil, 383.

néphrite, 501.

nerveux, 481.

†nés (= nef), 257.

†nesfle (= néfle), 113.

net, 491.

nettoyer, 491.

neuf (= novem, *nine*), 67, 96, 115<sup>1</sup>, 143, 162, 194.

neuf, neuve (= novum, nova, *new*), 67, 96, 107, 272, 274-5, 459.

neuvaine, 205, 474.

†neuveine, 474.

neuvième, 204.

Néva, 232.

neveu, -x, 152, 251.

névrose, 494, 501.

nez à nez, 379.

ni, 386-7, 593-4, 784-5, 822-5.

niais, 422, 544.

nicaise, 446.

nicodème, 446.

†nie (*pl. of* †neier, negare), 127.

nièce, 251.

nient-contrasant, 424.

nier, 550, 716, 821 (*see also* †neier = negare).

†nier (= necare, *and pl. of*), 550. n'importe, 619.

Nisard, 487.

niveau, 129.

†no (= nostri), 305.

noble, 412-3, 547.

nocturne, 579.

†noef (= novem, neuf), 143.

Noël, 242, 608.

†noime (= neuvième), 204.

Nogent-sur-Seine, 607.

†noieds (*pl. of* †neier, necare), 141.

†noiel (= noyau), 259.

†noier (= negare, nier, *which see also*), 550.

†noier (= necare, noyer, *which see also*), 550.

noir, -e, -s, 127, 180, 241, 266, 279, 343; (*as subst.*), 180; noir chagrin, 532.

noirâtre, 488.

noiraud, 486.

noirceur, 241.

noircir, 343.

Noirmoutiers, 189, 398.

†nois (= noix), 112, 222.

noise, 101, 110, 141.

noisette, 243.

noix, 112, 123, 222.

†noiz (= noix), 123.

nom, 140, 635.

(le plus grand) nombre, (un, le, grand) nombre, 781, 782.

nombril, 444.

non (*adv. and prefix*), 115, 127, 140, 263, 377, 383-4, 411, 424-6, 432, 818, 819.

non compris, 773.

non fait, -e, 819.

non pas, 594.

non point, 594.

non que, 726, 819.

non seulement, 819.

†nouain, 222 *note*.

nonante, 197-9.

nonchalant, 818, 819.

nonchaloir, 818, 819.

non-jouissance, 425.

(le) non-moi, 448.

nonnain, 222 *note*.

nonne, 222 *note*.

non-paiement, 425.

non-pareil, -le, 426, 819.

†non-per, 426.  
 non-sens, nonsens, 406, 412, 819.  
 non-valeur, 819.  
 nopal, 260.  
 normal, -e, 280.  
 nos (*poss. pron.*), 66, 303, 641; nos  
 livres, 66 (*see also* notre).  
 †nos (= nous), 291, 292, 305.  
 †nostre, -s (*accented*, = nôtre),  
 305-7.  
 †nostre, -s (*atenic*, = notre), 267,  
 305, 354.  
 †nostro (= notre), 92.  
 †nostro (= nostros), 305.  
 †nostis (= nostros), 305.  
 nota-bene, 441.  
 notre, 305-6, 354 (*see also* †nostre,  
 †nostro, and nos).  
 nôtre, -s, 305-7.  
 Notre-Dame, 398.  
 Notre-Seigneur, 398.  
 †nouer (= *to swim*), 549.  
 nounou, 444.  
 nourrain, 463<sup>1</sup>.  
 nourrisson, 247, 476.  
 nous, 65<sup>1</sup>, 289<sup>1</sup>, 291-2, 625-6 (*see  
 also* †nos).  
 nouveau, -x, 153, 154, 281, 459,  
 589 (*see also* nouvel).  
 nouveau-né, nouveau-née, 406, 589.  
 nouveau-venu, 406.  
 nouvel, -le, 107, 154, 274, 280 (*see  
 also* †nouvelle, nouveau).  
 nouvel œuvre, 230.  
 nouvelle-convertie, 589.  
 nouvelle-mariée, 589.  
 †nouvelle, 107, 464.  
 †nouvelletie, 404.  
 †novisme, 204.  
 †novisme, 204.  
 †nox (*abbrev. for* nous), 152.  
 noyan, -x, 152, 259.  
 noyer (= negare, †neier, *which  
 see*), 123, 550.  
 †noyer (= negare, †neier, *which  
 see*), 550.  
 †noz (= nostros), 305.  
 nu, -e, -s, 583.  
 †nualz (= nugalus, *warre*), 283.  
 †nuof (= novem, neuf), 143, 194.  
 nue-propriété, 583.  
 nuire (*and* †nu. of), 691.  
 nuit (*nuis.*), 101, 124, 608.

nul, -le, 91, 95, 206, 208, 280, 820,  
 825-6; nulle part, 380.  
 †nulla, 92.  
 †nuof (= novem, neuf), 96, 143,  
 194.  
 †nuof (= novum, neuf), 96, 107.  
 †nus (= nous), 291.  
 nus-propriétaires, 583.

## O.

†o (= ubi), 377.  
 †o (= hoc), 308, 383.  
 †o (= apud, avec), 33, 795.  
 O! 387.  
 †oan (*this year*), 380.  
 (être) obéi (*and* †nu. of), 707.  
 objet, 66.  
 obliger, 746.  
 obscur, -e, 279.  
 obseques, 410, 577.  
 oc (= yes), 24.  
 (Indes) Occidentales, 546.  
 †occir (*and* †nu. of), 331, 426.  
 (s')occuper, 746.  
 †ocir, *see* †occir.  
 octante, 197, 198.  
 octave, 204.  
 †od (= avec), 795.  
 †odir (= ouir), 145, 147.  
 †odrai (*pt. of* †odir), 338, 366<sup>1</sup>.  
 Œdipe, 67.  
 œil, 67, 124, 261.  
 œil-de-bœuf, 404.  
 œil-de-chat, 261.  
 †œille (= ouaille), 114, 141.  
 œil(-s)-de-perdrix, 261.  
 œuf, -s, 67, 94, 143, 157, 257-8.  
 †œus (= œuis), 257.  
 œuvre, 230.  
 offert (*pt. of* offrir), 361.  
 office, 230, 240.  
 offrande, 486.  
 offre (*nuis.*), 237.  
 offrir (*and* †nu. of), 324<sup>1</sup>, 361, 372.  
 oh! 387.  
 †oi (= audio), 101.  
 †oi (*pt. of* avoir), 271.  
 oie, -s, 28<sup>1</sup>, 255, 456.  
 †oill (= oui), 24, 146, 308.  
 oindre, *see* oint.  
 oint (*pt. of* oindre), 361.  
 †oir (= ouir), 108, 145, 147, 338.

oiseau, 558.  
 †oiseux, 483.  
 oisif, 483.  
 oisiveté, 482.  
 oison, 476.  
 †oissor (= uxor, wife), 106.  
 †oltre (= outre), 432.  
 †oltre-marin, 432.  
 †om, -s (= homo, on), 91, 96, 206, 220.  
 ombrage, 467.  
 ombrageux, 536.  
 ombre (*s. fish*), 68<sup>2</sup>.  
 ombre (*shade*), 467, 484, 536.  
 ombrelle, 484.  
 †(l')ombril (= nombril), 444.  
 †ome, -s (= homme), 120, 220.  
 on, 205-6, 220-1, 244, 328, 621-2, 629, 697, 707 (*see also* †om).  
 (l')on, 244, 328.  
 oncle, 40, 251.  
 onde, 491.  
 on-dit, 574.  
 ondoier, 114, 491.  
 ongle, 28<sup>2</sup>, 248.  
 †onques (= unquam), 209.  
 †ons, *see* on.  
 †onsime (= onzième), 196<sup>2</sup>.  
 ont (*pt. of avoir*), 331<sup>1</sup>.  
 onzain, 196.  
 onze, 194, 196, 201, 407; (*as subs.*), 448.  
 onzième, 196, 204.  
 †onzime, 204.  
 opale, 237.  
 opéra, 240, 521.  
 opiniâtrée, 382.  
 opiniâtrément, 382.  
 opulemment, 381, 382.  
 opulent, -e, 381.  
 opusculé, 237.  
 or (*subs.* = aurum), 98.  
 or (*adv., conj.*; = *Pop. Lat. hora*), 98<sup>1</sup>, 379; or çà! 388; †or de l', †or du (*with inf.*), 711.  
 orage, 237.  
 oraison, 179<sup>1</sup>, 476.  
 orange, 243.  
 orangé, 481.  
 orange-clair, 591.  
 †ord, 481.

†ordonnances royaux, 269.  
 ordre, -s, 237 (*see also* †orme).  
 ordure, 481.  
 †ore, -s (*now*), 98<sup>1</sup>, 379, 804 (*see also* †d'or, d'ores, &c.).  
 †ortée (= golden), 579.  
 oreille, 471.  
 oreille d'âne, 404.  
 oremus, 494.  
 †orent (*pt. of avoir*), 371.  
 †(d')ores (en avant) (= dorénavant)\*, 804.  
 †orfenin (= orphelin), 129.  
 orfèvre, 400, 435.  
 orfèvrerie, 464-5.  
 †orlèvie, 464.  
 orfrois, 127.  
 organe, 237.  
 organisateur, 495.  
 organisation, 495.  
 orge, 110, 230; orge carré, 230; orge mondé, 230.  
 orgue, 230.  
 †orgueilleusement, 836.  
 orient, 546.  
 oriental, -aux, -e, -es, 282, 546-7.  
 †orille, 471<sup>1</sup>.  
 Orléanais, 486.  
 orme, 474.  
 ormillé, 474.  
 †orme (= order), 95.  
 orné, 707.  
 orphelin, 129.  
 orpiment, 400, 435.  
 †orrai (= *pt. of oûir*) 338, 366<sup>1</sup>.  
 †ors (= or, hora), 379.  
 orthographe, 237.  
 ortolan, 517.  
 os (*bone*), 413.  
 †os (*pt. of oser*), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 oser (*and pts. of*), 325<sup>1</sup>, 736.  
 oseraie, 482.  
 ossature, 496.  
 osselet, 485.  
 †ostel, 98, 105, 118.  
 ostéolithe, 494.  
 ostrogoth, 447.  
 †osts (= hostis), 120.  
 †ot (*pt. of avoir*), 147, 592.  
 ôté (*partic. of ôter*), 773.  
 †ou (= en le), 300, 794, 805-6.

\* *D'ores* is not obsolete in the phrase *d'ores et déjà*.

ou (= aut, *or*), 386-7, 594, 621,  
784, 824.  
où (= ubi, *where*), 377, 384, 656;  
d'où, 666.  
ouaille, 114, 141, 462.  
ouais! 387.  
oublier, 426.  
touteille, 462.  
oui, 74, 146, 263, 308, 383-4.  
oui-dà! 450.  
oui-dire, 406, 408.  
ouir (and *pts. of*), 101, 105, 145,  
147, 338, 341, 366<sup>1</sup>, 406, 408, 548.  
ouirai (*pt. of ouir*), 366<sup>1</sup>.  
toulr-dire, 406.  
toutes (*pt. of avoir*), 371.  
Oural, 232.  
toure (= heure), 98<sup>1</sup>.  
ourlet, 485.  
ours, 222.  
oursin, 475.  
ourson, 475.  
tous, toutes, tout (*pts. of avoir*), 371.  
outillage, 468.  
outil, -s, 468.  
outre (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 386,  
411, 432, 433, 438, 807, 808;  
toute ce, 654; en outre, 808.  
outrecuidance, 432.  
toutrecuider, 432.  
outre-marin, 432.  
outre-mer, 432, 438.  
outre-passer, 432.  
outre-tombe, 432.  
ouvrable, 473, 548.  
ouvrage, 548.  
(à jour) ouvrant (*pt. of s'ouvrir*), 772.  
ouvrier (= *to work*), 473, 548.  
ouvrier, ouvrière, 78, 157, 548.  
(s')ouvrir, 772.  
ovale, 237.  
ovis, ovine, 579.  
ovale, 495.  
oxygène, 502.  
tos (= *hostis*), 120.

## P.

tpagien (= *palen*), 102.  
pague, 238.  
palement, 382.  
paen, 474 (*see also tpaillen*).  
tpaillen, 102.

tpaiier (= *payer*), 123.  
tpais (= *pays*), 101.  
tpaile (= *fall*), 110.  
paillasse (*m. and f.*), 247, 447.  
paillasson, 475.  
paille, 109, 243.  
palment, 382.  
pain, 68, 69, 140<sup>1</sup>, 145, 218, 219;  
pain d'épices, 393, 402.  
pair, -esse, 67, 252.  
paire, 100, 110.  
tpais (= *paix*), 123, 222.  
paisible, 472.  
paltre (*pts. of*), 325.  
paix, 123, 222; (*as interj.*), 448.  
pal (= *palus*, *Class. Lat.*, *slake*),  
260 (*see also tpel*).  
tpal (= *pallidum*, *pâle*, *m.*), 273.  
palais (*palace*), 110, 125, 136, 222.  
pâle, 273; pâles maladies, 531.  
paletot, 158.  
tpalie (= *fall*), 110.  
palsambien, 241, 401.  
pâmer, se pâmer, 688.  
panier, 478.  
paon, 68, 114.  
papa, 251.  
pape, -sse, 252.  
paperasse, 456.  
papetier, 461.  
papier, 433, 461.  
papier-tenture, 433.  
Pâque, Pâques, 149, 242, 522, 608.  
pâquerette, 485.  
par (*thus as adv.*), 284, 426, 809.  
par (*phonetic, and use as prep. and*  
*prefix*), 104, 136, 384, 386, 402,  
409, 426-7, 433, 438, 747, 808-10  
(*see also Index of Prefixes*).  
tpar après, 809.  
tpar avant, 380, 797, 809.  
tpar ce que, 387.  
par dedans, 386.  
par devant, 809.  
tpar devers, 809.  
par intérêt, peur, 610.  
parachever, 426.  
paraltre (and *pts. of*), 362, 364,  
366-7, 611; il parait, 720. (*See*  
*also tparoltre*).  
parallèle (*m. and f.*), 243, 506.  
paramagnétique, 506.  
paramagnétisme, 506.



- †parâtre (*stepfather*), 251, 399, 488.  
 †paravant, 380.  
 parce que, 387, 655, 725, 809-12.  
 †parche (= perche), 149.  
 parcourir, 407, 426, 687.  
 †parcours, 426.  
 parcours, 121.  
 par-dessous, 380, 427, 817.  
 pardessus (*subs.*), 427 (*see also* par-dessus).  
 par-dessus (*adv.*), 380, 386, 427, 438, 817.  
 pardonner, 409.  
 †paredis, 147.  
 pareil (= *like*), 92, 141, 471; pareille occurrence, 613.  
 †pareils, 147.  
 parent, -ents, -ens, 260.  
 paresse, 104, 127.  
 paresseux, 481.  
 †pareu (*pl. of paraltre*), 364.  
 †parevis (= parvis), 147.  
 parfaire, 409, 426.  
 parfait, 592.  
 †parfond (= *deep*), 410.  
 parfondre, 426.  
 parfourir, 426.  
 parfumer, 426.  
 Paris, 184, 188.  
 parisienne, 188.  
 Parisis, 486.  
 parjurer, 409, 426.  
 parler (*pls. of*), 336, 337, 350;  
     être parlé (*impersonal*), 708.  
 parmi, 385, 582, 614.  
 †paroir (*and pls. of*), 368.  
 †parolitre (= paraltre), 160.  
 †parol, -s, -t, &c. (*old forms of* parler), 336, 350.  
 parole, -s (*subs.*), 118, 194<sup>1</sup>, 541, 559.  
 parquer, 544.  
 parrain, 251.  
 parsem, 426.  
 part (*subs.*), 91, 95.  
 partageur, -s, 479.  
 partageux, 479, 489.  
 parlerre, 438.  
 †(je) parti, 325.  
 partir (*and pls. of*), 103, 323-5, 341, 343, 359, 692, 694, 711; se partir de, 694.  
 partisan, 281.  
 partout, 364.  
 paru (*pl. of paraltre*), 364.  
 parvenir, 426.  
 parvis, 147.  
 pas (*neg.*), 66, 67, 193, 545, 594, 612, 818, 820-1, 827-9.  
 pas à pas, 379.  
 pas d'âne, 404.  
 †pasmer (= pâmer), †ve pasmer, 688.  
 passage, 191.  
 (rue) passante, 772.  
 passé (*pl. of passer*), 773.  
 passe-partout, 442.  
 passe-passe, 442.  
 passer (*and pls. of*), 67, 683, 685-7, 773.  
 passe-temps, 574.  
 pasteur, 224.  
 pastille, 238.  
 patati-patata, 444.  
 pataud, 486.  
 pâte, 413; pâte d'amande, -e, 575-6.  
 patenôtre, 238.  
 †pâteur (= pasteur), 224.  
 pathelin, 446.  
 patiemment, *see* †patiemment.  
 †patiemment, 270.  
 pâtis, 469.  
 pâtre, 66, 224.  
 patron, patronnesse, 252, 484.  
 patronal, 282.  
 pattepelu, †e, 405.  
 pattu, 482.  
 †paulme, 151<sup>1</sup>.  
 paume, *see* †paulme.  
 pauvre (*adj.*), 66, 98, 272, 833 (*see also* †povre and †pauvre, -s, *subs.*).  
 pauvre, -sse (*subs.*), 252.  
 pauvreté, 482.  
 paver, 339.  
 payer (*and pls. of*), 78, 123, 351.  
 pays, 101, 486.  
 paysan, -ne, 68, 101, 252, 278.  
 †(je) paz (*pl. of paltre*), 325.  
 peau, 460-1, 558.  
 pêche (= *peach*), 447.  
 pêche-Bernard, 441.  
 pêche-martin, 441.  
 †pecheor, -eriz (= pêcheur, pêche-resse), 253.  
 pêcher (= *to fish*), 104, 122.

- pécheresse, 480 (*see also* †pecheor, -eriz).  
 pécheur (*sinner*), *see* †pecheor, pécheresse.  
 pédant, 191.  
 †pedre (= père), 91, 97, 111, 147, 219.  
 (une) peignée, 450.  
 †pell (= poll), 97.  
 peindre (*and* *pts. of*), 362.  
 peine, 66, 67, 97.  
 peiner, 67.  
 peintre, -sse, 250.  
 †peis (= pensum, poids), 363.  
 †peis (= pisum, pois), 97.  
 †pel (= pal), 154.  
 peler, 461.  
 pèlerin, 94, 127, 129.  
 †pelice (= polisse), 125.  
 pelisse, 125, 469.  
 pelletée, 481.  
 pelletier, 460.  
 Péloponnèse, 232.  
 †pelos, 459.  
 pelouse, 459.  
 peluche, 470.  
 pénal, -s, 282.  
 pendaison, 476.  
 pendre (*and* *pts. of*), 363, 364, 476 (*see also* pendant).  
 pendule (*m. and f.*), 242, 447.  
 pénible, 472.  
 pénitence, 132.  
 pénitential, pénitentiel, *f.* -elle; *pl.* -aux, -elles, 282.  
 penser, 683, 688-9, 714-5, 736; †as penser (*and* *pts. of*), 638-9.  
 penser (*as subs.*), des pensées, 451.  
 (un) pensez à moi, 440.  
 pensif, 483.  
 pensum, 67-8.  
 †penteist, 141.  
 †peor (= peur), 114.  
 percaline, 475.  
 perche, 95, 149.  
 perchlorure, 506.  
 perdre (*pts. of*), 367.  
 père, -s, 40, 91, 97, 111, 147, 216, 218, 219, 251, 412, 611, 831; (*see*) père et mère, 581, 645; père de famille, 399.  
 †perece (= paresse), 104, 127.  
 Périgourdin, 475.  
 péril, 78, 104, 159, 471.  
 période, 247.  
 périodique (*subs. and adj.*), 445.  
 périphonie, 506.  
 périr, 352, 685, 688-9, 841; †as périr, 689.  
 périssable, 473.  
 périssent . . . ! (*pl. of* périr), 841.  
 perle, 456.  
 perlé, 481.  
 permettre, 412, 717.  
 péronnelle, 446.  
 †perresil (= persil), 94.  
 †perrin, 579.  
 perron, 107, 459.  
 perruche (= parrakeet), 470.  
 †perruche (= perche), 149.  
 persan, -e, 278.  
 persécuteur, -utrice, 254.  
 persienne (*adj. and subs.*), 447.  
 persil, 94.  
 personne, -s, 205, 206, 242, 244, 545, 635-6, 820, 825-7; (à sa, en) personne, 636.  
 personnel, 472.  
 perte, 67, 95, 141, 363, 450.  
 †peschier (= *to fish*), 104, 122.  
 peser (*pts. of*), 350; peser des raisons, 532.  
 †pesme (= pessimum), 285.  
 pesse, 469.  
 peste (*m. and f.*), 247.  
 pétale, 501.  
 petit, -e, 275, 832.  
 petit-fils, 398.  
 petits-enfants, 398.  
 pétonele, 238.  
 pétrole, 479.  
 pétroleur, 479.  
 peu, 921, 193, 384, 828 (*see also* †pon = paucum); peu à peu, 379; le peu de, 777, 781.  
 peuple, -s, 118, 159, 188 (*see also* †poblo).  
 peuplier, 478.  
 peur, 114; avoir peur, 719.  
 peut (*pl. of* pouvoir), 67, 335; peut être, 383-4, 839; il se peut faire que, 716.  
 peux (*pl. of* pouvoir), 152, 158, 227, 337, 352.

phaéton, 446.  
 pharyngite, 301.  
 phénoménal, 103.  
 philosophailler, 490.  
 phylloxera, 240.  
 physique (*m. and f.*), 243.  
 piano, 77.  
 Picardie, 463.<sup>2</sup>  
 picotin, 475.  
 pictural, 495.  
 †piéça, 382, 698.  
 pièce, 108, 510.  
 pied, 77, 190, 463.  
 pied d'alouette, 397, 404.  
 pied d'oeillet, -s, 576.  
 pied-bot, 403.  
 pied-de-mouche, 404.  
 pied-de-poule, 404.  
 pied-plat, pieds-plats, 573.  
 pie-mère, 404.  
 Pierre, 184, 185.  
 pierre, 77<sup>2</sup>, 107, 191, 459.  
 Pierrefort, 270.  
 Pierre-Simon, 185.  
 pierrot, 447, 485.  
 piétiner, 490.  
 piéton, 460.  
 pieuvre, 238.  
 pif-paf, 444.  
 pigeon, 40<sup>2</sup>, 109, 484.  
 pigeonneau, 484.  
 †piler (= pilier), 477.  
 pilier, 477.  
 pillard, 487.  
 pilotis, 469.  
 pilule, 493.  
 pinceau, 154.  
 pinceauter, 154.  
 pioche, 470.  
 †piperesse, 480.  
 †pipeur, 480.  
 pique, 247.  
 pire, 283, 284, 285, 413, 592.  
 pis (= peotus, *udder*), 226.  
 pis (= pejus, *worse*), 283, 284.  
 pistachier, 477.  
 piteuse mine, 613.  
 pitié, 144.  
 pitoyable, 473.  
 pittoresque, 496.  
 pivoine, 247.  
 †piz (= *udder*), 226.  
 placard, 487.

†place (*pl. of plaisir*), 125, 373.  
 placer (*pls. of*), 351.  
 plafond, 191, 396, 398.  
 plaid (= *placitum, agreement*), 91.  
 plaidoyer (*subs.*), 451.  
 †plaigu (*pl. of plaindre*), 150.  
 plaindre (*and pls. of*), 150, 686;  
     *se plaindre*, 719.  
 plaint (*pl. of plaindre*), 150.  
 plaisir (*and pls. of*), 100, 125, 325,  
     340, 362, 364, 367, 373, 694, 697.  
     713 (*see also plaisir*).  
 plaisantin, 475.  
 plaise à Dieu! 698.  
 plaisir (*tas vb.*), 101, 123, 340; (*as*  
     *subs.*), 340, 451.  
 †plaiist (*pl. of plaisir*), 100.  
 (il me) platt (*pl. of plaisir*), 697.  
 planche, 491.  
 plancheier, 491.  
 plante, 190.  
 (Bernard) Plante-velue, 408.  
 plaque, 487.  
 plat, -e, 832.  
 plat-fond, 191.  
 platine (*platinum*), 234.  
 platine (*platen, &c.*), 234<sup>1</sup>.  
 platitude, 495.  
 platras, 468.  
 †plaz (*pl. of plaisir*), 325.  
 †pletier (= plier), 100.  
 plein, -e, 141, 145, 278, 477.  
 plénier, 477.  
 Plessis-les-Tours, 402.  
 †pleu (*pl. of plaisir*), 364.  
 pleur (*subs.*), 240.  
 pleuré, -s (*pls. of pleurer*), 779.  
 pleurer (*and pls. of*), 107, 335, 337,  
     346, 347, 686, 779.  
 pleurnicher, 490.  
 pleuvor (*and pls. of*), 697, 698.  
 plier (*and pls. of*), 100, 147, 550, 562.  
 †plioir (*vb.*), 147.  
 †plivoir (*vb.*), 147.  
 †plol, -ils, &c. (*pls. of plaisir*), 362.  
 †plorer (= pleurer, *and pls. of*), 107,  
     346-7.  
 †plourer (= pleurer, *and pls. of*),  
     107, 335.  
 ployer, 351, 550, 562.  
 plumage, 454, 456.  
 plumail, *see* †plumaux.  
 †plumaux, 260.

- plume, 343.  
 plumer, 343, 421.  
 (la) plupart de, 427, 781.  
 †plurel, 463.  
 pluriel, 463.  
 plus (*adv. and prefix*), 193, 283-5,  
 376, 384, 427, 433, 597-8, 836;  
 plus... plus, 725; plus que, 725;  
 (le) plus grand nombre de, 781.  
 plusieurs, -s, 206, 208, 284.  
 plus-pétition, 427.  
 plus-que-parfait, 427.  
 plus-value, 427.  
 plutôt à Dieu, 713.  
 plutôt que, 737.  
 pluvial, -e, 282.  
 †poble (= peuple), 92, 118.  
 †podeir, 113, 147, 375.  
 †podir, 91, 113.  
 †podrai (*pt. of pouvoir*), 375.  
 †poeir (= pouvoir), 147, 375.  
 poêle, 160, 161.  
 poète, poétesse, 252, 484.  
 poëterean, 461, 484.  
 poids, 74, 363, 450; poids et  
 mesures, 406.  
 poignard, 487.  
 poignée, 481.  
 poil, 97, 459, 470.  
 poilu, 482.  
 †point (= point), 829.  
 poing, *see* †point.  
 point (*neg.*), 193, 545, 594, 612, 818,  
 820, 827-9, 837; point de, 828.  
 point et virgule, 406 (*see also* point-  
 virgule).  
 pointille, 474.  
 pointiller, 490.  
 pointu, 482.  
 point-virgule, points-virgules, 406,  
 600.  
 †pointz (= poing), 126.  
 poire, 226.  
 poiré, 481.  
 pois (= *pes*), 97, 827; †(se... un)  
 pois, 827.  
 poison, 106, 557.  
 poisson, -s, 576.  
 poitrail, 462 (*see also* †poitraux).  
 †poitral, 462 (*see also* †poitraux).  
 †poitraux, 260.  
 poitrine, 558.  
 poli, -e, 272.  
 polichinelle, 129.  
 polissoir, polissoire, 455, 480.  
 politesse, -s, 531, 574.  
 polka, 516.  
 †Polonois (= Polonais), 160.  
 †pol-pied, 400.  
 †pome (= pomme), 140.  
 pomme, 161, 484 (*see also* †pome).  
 pommé, 481.  
 pomme d'acajou, 393.  
 pomme de terre, 393-4.  
 pommean, 484.  
 pommeraie, 482.  
 pommier, 478.  
 pont, 242 (*see also* ponts et  
 chaussées).  
 ponte (= *Span. punto, at cards, etc.*),  
 517.  
 ponte (*brood*), 364.  
 ponts et chaussées, 406.  
 †pooir (= pouvoir), 147, 375.  
 popeline, 475.  
 †por (= pour), 427, 810.  
 porc, 255, 484.  
 porche, 248.  
 porichinelle (*vulg. for polichinelle*),  
 129.  
 †porrai (*pt. of pouvoir*), 375.  
 portail, *see* †portaux.  
 †portaux, 260.  
 porte, 95.  
 portefeuille, 394, 440.  
 porte-fleurs, 440.  
 porte-joie, 440.  
 porte-massue, 443.  
 porte-monnaie, 442.  
 porte-plume, 191.  
 porte-pommes, 440.  
 porter (*and pt. of*), 412, 479, 551-2;  
 se porter, 772.  
 porteur (*pron. in Mid. F. porten*),  
 479.  
 portraire, 428.  
 portrait en pied, 560-1, 803.  
 Portugais, 486.  
 Port-Vendres, 119<sup>1</sup>, 400.  
 (il est) possible, 721.  
 poste, 363, 450.  
 postérieur, -e, 279.  
 †posterne (= poterne), 149.  
 postiche, 470.  
 pot, 67.  
 potassium, 495.

pot-au-feu, 402.  
 poterne, 149.  
 tpou (= paucum, peu), 91<sup>1</sup>, 134.  
 143.  
 pou (= pediculum), 262, 471.  
 poudre, 118.  
 poudreux, 489.  
 pondroyer, 114.  
 tpouil, 262.  
 tpoulaine (*syn. of* pouliche), 516.  
 poule, 255; poule d'eau, 579.  
 pouliche, 470, 516.  
 poumon, 475.  
 tpouvoir (= pouvoir), 147.  
 Poupard, 487.  
 pour (*prep. and prefix*), 384, 386,  
 409, 427-8, 433, 438, 743, 747,  
 748, 810-3; être pour, 705.  
 tpour ce, 727.  
 tpour ce que (= pour que), 655, 727.  
 tpour ce que (= parce que), 387, 809,  
 810, 812.  
 pour peu que, 725, 734, 813.  
 pour que, 387, 725, 727, 733.  
 pourboire, 412, 428, 436, 438.  
 pourceau, 484.  
 pourceindre, 427.  
 pourchasser, 427.  
 tpourchassier, 427.  
 pourfendre, 427.  
 tpourfil (= profil), 428, 499.  
 tpourmener (= promener), 499.  
 pourparler, 427.  
 (des) pourparlers, 481.  
 tpourpenser, 427.  
 tpourpiéd, 400.  
 pourpier, 400.  
 pourpre, 243.  
 tpourprendre, 427-8.  
 pourpris (*partic. and subs.*), 428.  
 pourquoi, 263, 810, 812.  
 poursuivre, 427.  
 pourtant, 386.  
 pourtour, 428.  
 tpourtraire, 428.  
 tpouvoir (*and pl. of*), 365, 409,  
 427, 725.  
 pourvu que, 725.  
 poussièreux, 481.  
 poussif, 483.  
 pousoir, 457.  
 tpouvoir (*and pl. of*), 67, 147, 152,  
 158, 325-7, 335, 337, 352<sup>1</sup>, 362,

375, 704, 713, 736, 777, 841 (*see*  
*also* tpodir, tpodeir); (*as subs.*),  
 451; n'en pouvoir mais, 636. (*See*  
*also* il se peut faire *under* il.)  
 t(se) pouvoir connaître (*and pl.*  
*of*), 708.  
 tpovre, -s (= pauvre), 98, 267.  
 préalable, 473.  
 prêcher, 427.  
 précipiter, 694.  
 préférer, 717, 736.  
 préfix, -e, 277.  
 tpreisier (= priser) 100.  
 tpremierain, -e (= premier), 202.  
 premier, -ière, 101, 105, 144, 202,  
 279, 602, 724.  
 prendre (*and pl. of*), 322, 324, 361,  
 369, 710-1; tse prendre à, 636;  
 s'en prendre à, 636; prendre  
 garde, 719; prendre patience,  
 peur, soin, 610.  
 prentes (*dialectal*, = prenditis),  
 369<sup>1</sup>.  
 près (*adv. and prefix*), 385, 427,  
 433, 814-6; de près, 815; près  
 de, 385.  
 présent, -e, 270.  
 tpresentede (= praesentata), 97.  
 présentée (*pl. of* présenter), 97.  
 présentement, 270, 381.  
 presque, 384, 427, 433, 814-6.  
 presque'lle, 406, 427.  
 tprestre, -s (= prêtre), 118, 220-1.  
 tpresveindre (= prêtre), 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 tpresveire (= prêtre), 220.  
 prêt, -e (*adj.*), 275, 705.  
 prétendre (*and pl. of*), 327, 718.  
 tpretends-je, 327.  
 prête-noms, 573.  
 prêtre, 427.  
 prêtraille, 474.  
 prêtre, -sse, 223, 252, 484, 611 (*see*  
*also* tprestre, tpresveindre, tpres-  
 veire, &c.).  
 tpseudome (= prud'homme), 160.  
 tppreuve, -s (*pl. of* prouver), 107, 325.  
 preux, 268.  
 prévarication, 540.  
 prévoir, 427, 714.  
 tpreyer, -ons (*pl. of* prier), 338.  
 t(je) pri (*pl. of* prier), 344.  
 prie (*pl. of* -rier), 123.  
 prie-Dieu, 574.

- †prieles (= prix), 222.  
 prier, 550, 717, 737; (*pls. of*), 122, 335, 344, 351.  
 prime, 202.  
 prime abord, 202.  
 prime saut, 202.  
 †primes (*adv.*), 377; †primes que (*syn. of avant que*), 726.  
 primevère, 202.  
 †pria (= prime), 202.  
 prince, -sse, 252, 484.  
 princier, 477.  
 †prendrai (*pl. of prendre*), 322.  
 printanier, -ière, 157, 477.  
 printemps, 202, 242, 398.  
 †pris (= pretium, prix), 125, 222.  
 †pris (= (je) prise), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 priser (*.-/ pls. of*), 100, 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 prison, 477.  
 prisonnier, 477-8.  
 prix, 222 (*see also* †pris).  
 proche de, 385.  
 professeur, †cuse, 250.  
 profil, 428, 499.  
 †proier (= †proyer), 550.  
 prolétaire, 495.  
 promener, 499; se promener, 692.  
 †prometre (*and pls. of*), 370.  
 promettre, 714, 737 (*see also* †prometre).  
 prononcé (*partic. and subs.*), 449.  
 prononcer (*and pls. of*), 449, 551.  
 prophète, -ète, -esse (*subs. and adj.*) 252, 447.  
 propre, 642, 833.  
 propre-à-rien, 402.  
 †prox (= preux), 268.  
 protecteur, -trice, 254.  
 protestant, -s (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 protester, 714.  
 †prouvair, -s (= prêtre), 220, 223.  
 prouver (*and pls. of*), 107, 335 (*see also* †prover).  
 †prouvoire (= prêtre), 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 †proveidre (= prêtre), 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 †proveire (= prêtre), 220, 223.  
 provende, 486.  
 †prover (= prouver), 113.  
 †provez (*pl. of* †prover), 107.  
 †provoire (= prêtre), 223.  
 †proyer (*and pls. of*), 335, 550.  
 prudemment, 270, 381.  
 prudence, 496.  
 †prudenment, 381.  
 †prudens (*pl. of prudent*), 260.  
 prudent, -s, -e, 267, 270, 281, 381, 496 (*see also* †prudens).  
 †prudentement, 381.  
 †prudement, 381.  
 †prudenz (*for prudent*, -s) 267.  
 prud'homme, 160, 446.  
 †pruoves (*pl. of* †prover) 107.  
 Prusse, 232.  
 prussien, 474.  
 pu (*pl. of pouvoir*), 777.  
 public, -ique, 274.  
 †publicque, 274.  
 puce, 243, 461.  
 pucelle, 154.  
 puceron, 461, 475.  
 puer, 340.  
 puéril, -s, -e, 273, 280.  
 †pui (= puy), 101.  
 pulné, 427.  
 †puir (= puer), 340.  
 puis (= post, *adv. and prefix*), 74, 427, 433, 813, 814; †puis ce que (= puisque), 814.  
 puis (*pl. of pouvoir*), 325, 352<sup>1</sup>.  
 puisard, 487.  
 puisque, 45<sup>1</sup>, 287, 725, 814.  
 puissance, 487.  
 puissant, 487.  
 puisse...! 841; †puisse-gié, †puisse-jo, puisse-je, 226 (*pls. of pouvoir*).  
 paits, 224.  
 †puiz, 224.  
 †pulcelle (= pucelle), 154.  
 †pulpitre, 154.  
 †pumier (= pommier), 579.  
 punch, 68.  
 papître, 154.  
 par, 83, 96.  
 parété, 482-3.  
 †parté, 482-3.  
 puy, 101.  
 Pyrénées, 184.  
 pyrite, 238, 501.

Q.

quadrille (*m. and f.*), 242, 520.  
 quadrupèdes d'eau, 578.  
 quai, 510.  
 quand, 45<sup>1</sup>, 126, 386, 725, 732.

quand même, 732.  
 quant, -e, -es (= quantum, -a, &c.,  
*adj. pron.*), 91, 120, 206, 208,  
 676; quantes et quantes fois, 208;  
 toutes fois et quantes, 208.  
 quant (*adv.* = quantum), 208<sup>1</sup>.  
 †quant (= quando, quand), 126.  
 †quanz (= quantos), 676.  
 †quar (= car), 126.  
 quarante, 197.  
 quart, quarte (*adj. and subr.*), 202.  
 †quartaine, 204.  
 quasi, 382.  
 quasiment, 382.  
 quatorze, 194.  
 †quatorzime, 204.  
 quatrain, 205, 474.  
 quatre, 111, 159, 194, 203; quatre  
 à quatre, 379.  
 quatre-vingt-dix, 198-9.  
 quatre-vingts, 197-9, 407, 600.  
 quatrième, 203.  
 †quatriesme, 203.  
 †quatrime, 203.  
 †quatrisme, 203.  
 que (*as atonic monosyllable*), 94, 133.  
 †que (= qui, *atonic*), 314, 672.  
 que (= quem, *acc. of qui*), 313-4,  
 657-9, 661-2, 665, 848.  
 que (= quid, *neut. rel. and interrog.*  
*pron., accus.*), 193, 315, 673-4,  
 676; que de, 801; que ne . . . ?  
 820.  
 que (= quod, quid, *conj.*), 383,  
 386-7, 427, 453, 593-5, 727-8,  
 732-3, 819-20.  
 que (= *that, rel. adv.*), 377, 670-2.  
 (ce) que, 676.  
 (le) que, 570.  
 (le) qu'en dira-t-on, 443.  
 qu'est-ce de, qu'est-ce que de? 801.  
 qu'est-ce que, qu'est-ce que c'est que,  
 673-4.  
 †quei (= quoi), 315, 662.  
 †queid (= quod), 315, 662.  
 quel, -s, -lle, 76, 206, 208, 315,  
 674-6.  
 quel que, 585-7.  
 quelconque, 209.  
 quelque (= *Pop. Lat. qualis quam,*  
*several; adj.*), 388.  
 quelque (= quel + que; *adj. and*  
*adv.*), 206, 209, 585-8.

quelque chose, 246-7.  
 quelque part, 380.  
 quelque . . . que, 586-7, 733.  
 quelquefois, 380.  
 quelqu'un, 209.  
 quenouille, 471.  
 quérir (*and pls. of*), 96, 159, 334.  
 quête, 450.  
 queue, 98, 535-6.  
 †queule (*pl. of couler*), 335, 349.  
 qui (= qui *accented in Lat., rel.*  
*pron., nom.*) 313-4; (*atonic use*),  
 657-8; (*accented use*), 658-60,  
 661, 665, 672, 848.  
 qui (*interrog. pron., nom., dat., and*  
*accus.*), 314-5, 660<sup>1</sup>, 672-3 (*see*  
*also qui above*).  
 qui (= *Pop. Lat. cui, rel. pron.,*  
*dat. and accus., accented*), 314,  
 659, 660.  
 †qui (= qu'il), 658<sup>1</sup>, 661<sup>2</sup>.  
 qui est-ce qui, 673-4.  
 qui que, 733.  
 †quider (= *to believe*), 711.  
 †quiert (*pl. of quérir*), 96, 334.  
 quille (*skittle, pop. = leg*), 558.  
 quinaud, 486.  
 †quint, 95, 203.  
 quinte, 203.  
 †quintisme, 204.  
 quinze, 194.  
 Quinze-Vingts, 199.  
 quitter, 681.  
 quoi (= quod, quid, *rel. and int.*  
*pron.*), 315, 662-2, 669, 673-4.  
 quoi que, 658, 733.  
 quoique, 725, 732.  
 quolibet, 494.

## R.

r (*letter*), 264<sup>1</sup>.  
 rabbin, 522.  
 rabougir, 429.  
 racine, 534.  
 (se) raconter, 708.  
 racornir, 413.  
 radicaile, 456, 474.  
 radis, 517.  
 radoub, 256.  
 †radous, 256.  
 raffoler, 428.  
 rafraîchir, 429.

- raide, 478, 551, 563 (*see also* *troide*, *troit*).  
 raideur, 478.  
 raifort, 240, 398.  
 train, 467.  
 raisin, 101, 123.  
 raisiné, 481.  
 traîniez, -nous (*pls. of* *raisonner*), 337.  
 raison, 110, 125, 457, 563.  
 raisonnable, 457.  
 raisonner (*pls. of*), 336-7, 457.  
 ramage, 467, 544.  
 (un) ramasse-ton-bras, 440.  
 ramée, 467.  
 ramille, 474.  
 ranz, 517.  
 rapetisser, 429.  
 (plusieurs) Raphaëls, 572.  
 rapiécer, 108.  
 rappeler, 428-9.  
 (être) rapporté (*imperf.*), 708.  
 rapproprier (*vulg. for* *approprier*), 429.  
 rarissime, 285<sup>2</sup>.  
 ras, -e, 276.  
 raser, 385.  
 rassasier, 429.  
 rassortir (*vulg. for* *assortir*), 429.  
 rat, 254.  
 ration, 563.  
 râtelier, 480.  
 raton, 475.  
 ravalement, 547.  
 ravalier, 547.  
 ravander, 429.  
 †réal (*m. and f. = royal*), 271<sup>1</sup>.  
 rebord, 429.  
 rebrousser, 429.  
 recette, 363, 450.  
 recevable, 472.  
 †recevoir (= recevoir), 113.  
 recevoir (*and pls. of*), 325, 335, 338, 343, 359, 365, 410, 472 (*see also* *†recevoir*).  
 †(je) reçois (*pl. of* *recevoir*), 335.  
 recourir, 428, 551-2.  
 récrier, 694.  
 recrue, 250.  
 †(je) reçu (*pl. of* *recevoir*), 325.  
 (à) reculons, 794.  
 récurer, 429.  
 redevable, 472-3.  
 redevoir, 472.  
 redingote, 509.  
 redire (*and pls. of*), 373<sup>1</sup>, 428-9.  
 redowa, 516.  
 réel, -le, 274, 280.  
 refaire (*and pls. of*), 372, 407, 409, 412, 428.  
 reflux, 429.  
 reformer, 428.  
 réformer, 428, 500.  
 regagner, 428.  
 régat, 260.  
 régicide, 497.  
 †régier, -s (= royal), 103.  
 règle, 551-2.  
 règlement, 551-2.  
 régler, 552.  
 règne, 561.  
 régner, 79<sup>1</sup>.  
 regretter, 719.  
 †rei, -s (= roi), 141, 611.  
 Reims, 68.  
 rein, 68.  
 Reinald, Reinaud, 485.  
 reine, 127, 137, 146, 281, 611.  
 reine-claude, 434.  
 reine-marguerite, 434.  
 Reinold, 485.  
 restre, 515.  
 (se) réjouir, 428, 719.  
 relever, 334.  
 relief, 334, 453.  
 reluire, 428.  
 remédiable, 473.  
 †remembrer, 119.  
 remettre, 412.  
 remonter, 429.  
 rémora, 240.  
 remplir, 428-9.  
 remuer, 680.  
 renard, 446.  
 Renand, 485.  
 rencontre, 234.  
 (un) rendez-vous, 440.  
 rendre (*and pls. of*), 324, 341, 343, 363, 365, 367, 450, 702; †rendre bien, mal, 610; rendre service, 610.  
 rendu (*partic. and subs.*), 450.  
 renforcer, 429.  
 Renier, 79<sup>1</sup>.  
 renom, 406.  
 (la) Renommée, 188.



- renommer, 429.  
 renonculacées, 495.  
 renoncule, 238.  
 renonculées, 495.  
 Renout, 485.  
 renouveler (*pls. of*), 350.  
 rente, 363, 450.  
 rentes (*dialectal*, = *redditis*), 369<sup>1</sup>.  
 réorganiser, 500.  
 repentir, se repentir, 359, 688, 695.  
 719; (*subs.*), 451.  
 répit, 259.  
 replâtrage, 429.  
 replet, -etc, 276.  
 répondu, -e (*pls. of répondre*), 707.  
 reporter, 412.  
 repousser, 428.  
 reprendre, 428.  
 répression, 500.  
 reproche, 234, 249.  
 réputation, 663.  
 trer (*syn. of raser*), 385.  
 réséda, 240.  
 résolu, -e (*pls. of résoudre*), 695.  
 résoudre (*and pls. of*), 281, 372, 695,  
 719.  
 résous (*pl. of résoudre*), 281.  
 responsable, 473.  
 resserre (*vulg. for serre*), 429.  
 rester (*and pls. of*), 698, 838.  
 (il) résulte, 720.  
 résumé (*partic. and subs.*), 449.  
 retourner, 428.  
 rets, 224.  
 Rensa, 232.  
 rêvasser, 490.  
 (un) revenez-y, 440, 442.  
 revenir, 428.  
 revêtir (*pls. of*), 358-9.  
 rêveur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 Reynant, 485.  
 tuez, tuez pied, tuez terre, 385.\*  
 rhétoricien, 495.  
 rhétorique, 495.  
 Rhône, 232.  
 rhume, 238.  
 ribaud, 486.  
 Richard, 487.  
 richard, 487.  
 riche, 832 (*see also* *richissime*).  
 Richelieu, 398.  
 richesse, 483.  
 richissime, 285<sup>1</sup>.  
 rien, 137, 145, 205-6, 246, 662, 820,  
 825-7; rien moins que, 827<sup>1</sup>.  
 triens, 246.  
 trière, 380, 385, 429, 433.  
 rigide, 551, 563.  
 rigollet, 446.  
 rigueur, 241.  
 rimaille, 473.  
 rimailleur, 490.  
 rime, 239.  
 rire (*and pls. of*), 96, 340-1, 343,  
 361; (*as subs.*), 451.  
 risée, 481.  
 risque, 239, 249.  
 rivière, 189, 478.  
 robe lilas, 435-6.  
 Rochechouart, 401.  
 Rochefort, 270, 398.  
 roi, 141, 251, 460, 529-531, 608,  
 611, 831.  
 troide (= raide), 160, 273.  
 troilet, 460.  
 troietel, 460.  
 roi-prophète, 447.  
 troit (= troide, *m.*), 273.  
 troitel, 460.  
 roitelet, 460.  
 romain, -e, 102, 474.  
 Romainville, 189.  
 roman-feuilleton, 435.  
 Rome, 140.  
 trompé-je (*pl. of rompre*), 327.  
 rompre (*and pls. of*), 140, 327, 340,  
 342-3, 363.  
 rompa-je (*pl. of rompre*), 327.  
 rompt (*pl. of rompre*), 140.  
 ronçeraie, 482.  
 rond, 146, 413.  
 (à la) ronde, 378, 445.  
 ronde-bosse, 398.  
 ronron, 444.  
 troond, 146.  
 front (*pl. of rompre*), 140.  
 rose, -s (*subs. and adj.*), 91, 96<sup>1</sup>, 112,  
 113, 158, 180, 221, 222, 231, 243,  
 267, 445, 447; vieux-rose, 591.  
 rossignol, 129, 470.  
 rossolis, 494.  
 roter, 124.

\* *rez-de chaussée* is not obsolete.

rouge, 180, 241.  
 rouge-aile, 573<sup>1</sup>.  
 rouge-bord, 403.  
 rouge-gorge, rouges-gorges, 405,  
 573.  
 rouge-queue, 405, 573<sup>1</sup>.  
 rougeur, 241, 455.  
 (chemin) roulant, 773; (une) rou-  
 lante, 448 (*partic. and subs.*).  
 rouse, 276, 471 (*f. of roux, which*  
*see also*).  
 rousacrolle, 471.  
 rousset, 485.  
 route, 450.  
 routier, 477.  
 routine, 475.  
 roux, 65<sup>2</sup>, 276, 485 (*see also rousse*).  
 royal, -e, -aux, 269, 271<sup>1</sup>, 472, 578  
 (*see also tregiel*).  
 royalement, 269.  
 royalisme, 496.  
 royaliste, 496.  
 †royalment, 269.  
 royaume, 561.  
 †royaument, 269.  
 royauté, 531.  
 royaux (*m. and f.*), 269.  
 ruche, 510.  
 rudement, 596.  
 rudesse, 454, 483.  
 rue, 484; rue passante, 772.  
 ruelle, 484.  
 †(je) ruis (= rogo), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 ruolz, 446.  
 rustand, 486.

## S.

sa, 103, 111 (*see also son*).  
 sabbat, 522.  
 sablon, 28<sup>2</sup>.  
 sac, 122<sup>1</sup>.  
 sache (*pt. of savoir*), 109, 712.  
 sachet, 122<sup>1</sup>.  
 sachez (*pt. of savoir*), 710.  
 sachons (*pt. of savoir*), 710.  
 sage (*subs. and adj.*), 109, 445.  
 sagesse, 100, 454-5, 483.  
 †Sagone (= Sadne), 122.  
 †saildrai, †sailrai (*pts. of saillir*),  
 365.  
 millir (*and pts. of*), 324<sup>1</sup>, 365-6,  
 372.

sain, 111.  
 saint, 124, 612, 832.  
 (Sa) Sainteté, 434.  
 (la) Saint-Jean, 242, 401.  
 Saint-Léger, 612.  
 Saint-Martin, 401.  
 Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, 402.  
 saioche, 470.  
 †sairément (= serment), 93.  
 saisine, 475.  
 saladier, 478.  
 salaud, 486.  
 †saluder, 145.  
 saluer, 145.  
 salut, 65<sup>1</sup>.  
 †salvament (= salvation), 91.  
 salva-nos, 441.  
 †salvar (= sauver), 91.  
 †salvarai (*pt. of sauver*), 322.  
 salve, 239.  
 (par la) sambien, 401.  
 samedi, 400.  
 samovar, 516.  
 †sanc, 120.  
 sanctifier, 497.  
 sang, 120, 241.  
 sang-Dieu, 401.  
 sanglant, 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 sangle, 139.  
 †sangler, 477.  
 sanglier, 255, 477.  
 sans (*prep. and prefix*), 384, 430,  
 433, 438, 612, 743, 748, 816,  
 817, 824; †sans ce que (= sans  
 que), 655, 817; sans que, 725,  
 817.  
 sans pareil, -le, 578.  
 sans-cœur, 430, 437, 438.  
 sans-culotte, 430, 438.  
 sans-dents, 437, 438.  
 sans-façon, 438.  
 sans-gêne, 430, 438.  
 sans-souci, 430, 438.  
 santé, 482.  
 Saône, 122.  
 sarcelle, 126, 129.  
 †sarqueu (= cercueil), 261.  
 Sarrazin, -s, 606.  
 satisfaction, 500.  
 satisfaire, 500.  
 saucisse, 469.  
 saumon, 475.  
 saupoudrer, 440.

- saur, 28<sup>1</sup>.  
 saurai (*pt. of savoir*), 365, 371.  
 sauteler, 490.  
 saute-mouton, 441, 442.  
 sauter (*and pts. of*), 490, 697.  
 sautiller, 490.  
 sauvage, -sse, 252, 454, 467.  
 sauvagin, 475.  
 sauve qui peut (*imperat.*), 712; un  
 sauve-qui-peut, 443.  
 sauvegarde, 398.  
 sauver (*and pts. of*), 322, 712 (*see*  
*also tsalvar, sauve qui peut*).  
 savant, 469, 487, 833; savant aveu-  
 gle, 552<sup>1</sup>.  
 tsavantas, 469.  
 savantasse, 469.  
 tsaveir (= savoir), 113.  
 savetier, 159.  
 tsavir (= savoir), 91, 113.  
 savoir (*and pts. of*), 109, 340, 362,  
 365, 371, 710, 712, 716, 717,  
 756, 764, 777; (*as subs.*), 451.  
 (*See also tsavir, tsaveir.*)  
 savoir-faire, savoir-vivre, 406, 408.  
 savon, 475.  
 sciastique, 493.  
 se (= so), 67, 94, 292, 628, 629  
 (*see also tsci = soi*).  
 tse (= si), 727, 728; tse non (=   
 sinon), 819.  
 sêance tenante, 772.  
 (sur son) sêant (*pt. of tseoir*), 769.  
 sébacté, 493.  
 sec, sèche, 124, 138, 278.  
 sécheresse, 483.  
 second, -e, 202, 833.  
 secourable, 472.  
 secourir, 430.  
 secours, 558.  
 secousse, 124.  
 secret, -ète, 275.  
 secte, 66.  
 sécurité, 551.  
 tsedeir (= tseoir), 104, 145.  
 tsedme (= septième), 203.  
 tsedrai (*pt. of tseoir*), 338.  
 séduire, 429<sup>2</sup>.  
 tseoir (= tseoir), 145.  
 tsegur (= sûr), 122, 145, 147.  
 tsel (= soi, *which see also*), 97, 141,  
 292, 304.  
 séide, 446.  
 tsele, -s, &c. (*pts. of être*), 370-1.  
 seigle, 242.  
 seigneur, -s, 106, 220, 224, 283-4  
 (*see also tsendra*).  
 seille, 124.  
 sein, 141.  
 Seine, 184, 189, 232.  
 tscentisme (= sanotissimum), 285.  
 tseir (= soir), 107.  
 tsessante (= soixante), 197.  
 seize, 194.  
 seizième, *see tszime*.  
 séjour, 159.  
 selon, 386.  
 tselvage (= sauvage), 467.  
 semaille, 473.  
 (il) semble, 720; il me semble, 697.  
 sembler (*and pts. of*), 119, 344, 697,  
 720.  
 semen-contra, 494.  
 semis, 469.  
 semper vivens, 494.  
 tsen (= Germ. Sinn), 414.  
 tsendra (= seigneur, *which see*), 92.  
 tsenestre (= sinistre), 28<sup>1</sup>.  
 sénévé, 93.  
 sensé, 481.  
 sensément, 382.  
 sens-je, 327.  
 tsentement (= sentiment), 487.  
 sentes (*dialectal*, = sequitis), 369<sup>1</sup>.  
 sentier, 118, 137.  
 sentiment, 487.  
 sentinelle, 250.  
 sentir (*and pts. of*), 327, 341, 359,  
 364<sup>1</sup>, 367, 686, 736, 737, 847;  
 sentir bon, 377.  
 sentu (*pop. for senti*), 364<sup>1</sup>.  
 tseoir (*and pts. of*), 104, 145, 338,  
 374, 561, 696, 769; tseoir en  
 cheval, 561.  
 séparer, 557.  
 sept, 162, 194, 196.  
 septante († *and prov.*), 197-9.  
 septième, 203.  
 tsseptiesme, 203.  
 sera, &c. (*pts. of être*), 370.  
 sérail, 191.  
 séraphin, 522.  
 tsercele (= sarcelle), 126.  
 tseree (= soirée), 107.  
 tserement (= serment), 93, 159.  
 sérénissime, 285<sup>2</sup>.

- †sercur, -s (= scur), 220, 223.  
 sergent, 109.  
 Sermaise, 125.  
 serment, 93, 159.  
 †seror (= scur), 222 *note*.  
 †serorge (= belle-scur), 399.  
 serpent, 233, 254 (*see also* †serpens).  
 serpentin (*vulg. for* strapontin), 493.  
 †serpens (*nom. sing. and acc. pl. of* serpent), 219.  
 †serrai (*pl. of* †seoir), 338.  
 serre, 429.  
 serval, 260.  
 †servant (= serviteur), 252.  
 servante (*partic. and subs.*), 251-2, 448.  
 serviabie, 473.  
 service, 240.  
 servile, 579.  
 servir, 117, 684.  
 serviteur, 251, 252.  
 ses, 132 (*see also* son).  
 †setier (*pl. -iere*), 227.  
 †set (= sept), 194.  
 †setante (*seventy*), 197.  
 †setiesme (= septième), 203.  
 †setisme (= septième), 203.  
 †seue, -s (= sienne, -s), 304.  
 seuil, -s, 261.  
 seul, 614, 724, 833.  
 †seur (= sur), 430.  
 †seür (= sûr), 122, 145, 147.  
 Sévigné, 189.  
 sevrer, 411, 429, 557.  
 Sèvres, 184.  
 †sez (*in* assez), 97.  
 †sezime (= seizième), 204.  
 sganarelle, 446.  
 si (= si, *conj.*), 386, 453, 727-8, 758-62.  
 si (= si, *adv.*), 123, 377, 613, 733; si bien que, 725; si peu que, 734; si . . . que, 733.  
 †si (= sui), 302.  
 (il) sied (*pl. of* †seoir), 696.  
 sien, -s, -ne, -nes, 303-4, 307, 641, 645, 834.  
 sieste, 203.  
 †(il) siet (*pl. of* †seoir), 696.  
 siffer, 684.  
 signal, 472.  
 signet, 279.  
 silence ! 448.  
 aillhouette, 446.  
 siller, 544.  
 Simon, 185.  
 singe, 255, 464.  
 singerie, 464.  
 singulier, 463.  
 sinistre, *see* †senestre.  
 sinon, sinon que, 818.  
 sire, -s, 220-1, 224, 283-4.  
 †sis (= six), 194-5.  
 †sisiesme (= sixième), 203.  
 †sisime (= sixième), 203.  
 †sisisme (= sixième), 203.  
 †sisme (= sixième), 203.  
 †siste (= sixième), 203.  
 †sivir, †sivre (= suivre), 340.  
 six, 162, 194-5.  
 sixain, 474.  
 sixième, 203.  
 sixtain, 205.  
 Sixte, 203.  
 †six-vingts, 199.  
 sodium, 495.  
 scur, 40, 96, 143, 158, 220, 221<sup>1</sup>, 223; (*as title*, Scür), 611.  
 soi, 74<sup>1</sup>, 97, 141, 292, 304, 628, 629, 844-5.  
 soi-disant, 629, 845.  
 †soie, -s, -nt (*pl. of* être), 370-1.  
 †soie, -s (= sienne, -s), 304.  
 soir, 107.  
 soirée, 107.  
 sois, -t, -ent, &c. (*pl. of* être), 370-1, 841 (*see also* soit).  
 soit (*pl. of* être), 712, 713; soit que, 725.  
 soixante, 197; soixante et onze, 407, 599; soixante-dix, 198, 199; soixante-seize, 599.  
 †sol, -s, -z (= son), 259.  
 †solaz, 103, 110, 126, 222 (*see also* †soulas).  
 †sold (= son), 259.  
 soldat, 528.  
 soldé, 528.  
 soleil, 191, 455, 471, 608.  
 solennel, 67.  
 †solfre, 128.  
 †soller, -s (= soulier, -s), 194<sup>1</sup>.  
 solvable, 473.  
 †som (= sommes, *pl. of* être), 329.  
 †sومه (= summa, somme, *sum*), 137.

- †somes (= sommes, *pl. of être*), 329, 330, 369.  
 somme (= summa, *sum*), 137.  
 somme (= somnum, *sleep*), 91, 118.  
 sommeil, 471.  
 †soms (= sommes, *pl. of être*), 329, 330, 369.  
 †son (= sommes, *pl. of être*), 329<sup>2</sup>.  
 †son (sa, ses) (*possess. pron.*), 107, 137, 301-3, 306, 641, 643-6 (*see also sa, ses*).  
 †sone (*pl. of sonner*), 140.  
 sonner (*and pl. of*), 140, 685, 686, 687.  
 sonnette, 485.  
 †sons (= sommes, *pl. of être*), 330.  
 sont (*pl. of être*), 331<sup>1</sup>, 369; ce sont, 786-7.  
 †sor, -e (= sora, *saur*), 28<sup>1</sup>.  
 †sor (= super, supra, *sur*), 430.  
 †sordels, †sordois (= sordidus, *werse*), 283.  
 †sore (= sur, *prep.*), 430.  
 sore-je, 327.  
 sort, 188, 349.  
 sortable, 472.  
 sorte, -s, 576.  
 sorté-je (*pl. of sortir*), 327.  
 sortie (*subs.*), 532.  
 sortir (*and pl. of*), 327, 349, 359, 551, 685.  
 sot, -te, 275, 832.  
 sottise, 483.  
 sou, -s, 259.  
 soubattre, 430.  
 soucoupe, 239, 430, 437-8.  
 †soudre (*pl. of*), 372.  
 souffler, 430.  
 †souffraite, 547.  
 souffreteux, 547.  
 souffrir (*and pl. of*), 372, 430, 547.  
 soufre, 128.  
 souillon, 250, 475.  
 soll, -e, 280.  
 †soulas, 105, 110, 126, 222, 468.  
 soulier, -s, *see* †soller, -s.  
 souligner, 430.  
 soumettre, 395, 410, 412, 430.  
 soupçon, 249.  
 soupçonner, 715.  
 souper (*vb.*), 608; (*as subs.*), 451.  
 soupeser, 430.  
 soupière, 478.  
 soupir, 431.  
 soupirail, -aux, 260.  
 †soupirails, 260.  
 soupirer, 431, 686.  
 souple, 159.  
 sourcil, 430.  
 sourd, 413.  
 sourd-muet (*pl. sourds-muets*), 407.  
 sourire, 407, 410, 430; (*as subs.*), 451.  
 souris (*mouse*), 254.  
 sous (*prep. and prefix*), 118, 385-411, 414-5, 430, 433, 438-9, 517-519.  
 sous-bail, 430.  
 sous-bois, 430, 438.  
 sous-clavière, 430.  
 sous-dominante, 430.  
 sous-garant, 438<sup>2</sup>, 439.  
 sous-gorge, 430.  
 sous-lieutenant, 438<sup>2</sup>, 439, 574.  
 sous-locataire, 430, 439.  
 sous-maire, 430.  
 sous-marin, 414-5, 430.  
 sous-multiple, 439.  
 (en) sous-œuvre, 438.  
 (en) sous-ordre, 438.  
 sous-pied, 438.  
 sous-préfet, 430, 439.  
 sous-secrétaire, 439.  
 sous-zeing, 438.  
 soutenir, 714.  
 souterrain, 430.  
 soutien, 453.  
 †soutil, †soutius (= subtil, -s), 154.  
 souvenir (*and pl. of*), 695-6; (*as subs.*), 451; se souvenir, 714.  
 souvent, 379, 384.  
 (il me) souvient (*pl. of souvenir*), 696.  
 †sovre (= sur, *prep.*), 430.  
 †soz (= sous, *prep.*), 118, 430.  
 †sozmettre (= soumettre), 410.  
 †sozrire (= sourire), 410.  
 spécialement, 269.  
 spécialiste, 496.  
 †spécialment, 269.  
 †spéciaument, 269.  
 †spede (= épée), 97, 117.  
 squelette, 191, 239.  
 statue d'argent, 578.  
 steppe, 239, 516.  
 †stéril (= stérile, *m.*), 273.  
 stérile, 273.

sti-là (*pop.* = tcesteul-là), 310<sup>1</sup>.  
 stimulant, -s (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 strapontin, 493.  
 stupéfier, 497.  
 su (*pt. of savoir*), 777.  
 subdivision, 532.  
 subir, 352.  
 subtil, -s, 154.  
 succès, 67, 530.  
 succomber, 683.  
 suçoter, 490.  
 †suen, -s (= sien, -s), 303.  
 †suer (= seuer), 220, 222 *note*.  
 †sui (*pt. of être*), 369.  
 suint, 70.  
 suis (*pt. of être*), 325, 369; (je)  
   suis tombé, 408; suis-je, 327,  
   329<sup>1</sup>; suis-je-ti (*vulg.*), 329<sup>1</sup>.  
 suivant (*prep.*), 385-6.  
 suivre (*and pts. of*), 316, 340, 367,  
   838.  
 sujet, 191.  
 sulfate, -s, 501.  
 sulfite, -s, 501.  
 Sully, 78<sup>2</sup>.  
 Sultan, 611.  
 †sune (*pt. of sonner*), 140.  
 †suor (= seuer), 96.  
 †suos (= suus), 303<sup>2</sup>.  
 superconnue, 504.  
 supérieur, -e, 279, 592.  
 suppliant, -e (*adj. and subs.*), 448.  
 supporter, 412.  
 supposé (*partic. of supposer*), 773;  
   (*as prep.*), 385.  
 supposer (*and pts. of*), 385, 714, 773.  
 sur (*prep. and prefix*), 384, 386,  
   402, 411-2, 415, 430-1, 433, 438-  
   9, 790, 817; †sur autres, tous, 596.  
 sûr, 122, 145-7, 411, 429; être sûr,  
   714; il est sûr, 720.  
 surajouter, 431.  
 sur-arbitre, 431, 439.  
 surcharger, 431.  
 sardos, 438.  
 surenchère, 412.  
 sûreté, 482, 551.  
 surexciter, 431.  
 surhumain, 415, 431.  
 surjeter, 431.  
 surlendemain, 431, 438.  
 sarmener, 407, 431.  
 surmonter, 687.

surmoulu, 431.  
 surnager, 431.  
 surmaturel, 413, 431.  
 surpasser, 687.  
 surplus, 438.  
 surpoids, 439.  
 surpoint, 431, 438-9.  
 (être) surpris, 719.  
 surtout (*adv.*), 412; (*subs.*), 431, 438.  
 survenir, 838.  
 survivre, 687.  
 sus (*adv. and prefix*), 376, 411,  
   430-1, 433, 817.  
 susdit, 431.  
 sus-énoncé, 431.  
 sus-orbitaire, 431.  
 syndic, 507.  
 syndical, 507.  
 syntactique, 507.  
 syntaxe, 507.  
 syntaxique, 507.

## T.

t (*euphonic, as in aime-t-il*), 328.  
 t' (= tu, *pop.*), 292<sup>1</sup>.  
 ta, 103, 111, 641, 646 (*see also ton*).  
 †tabaquière, 462.  
 tabatière, 462, 478.  
 table, 159, 190, 191, 231, 412, 551,  
   562.  
 tableau, 154, 529.  
 tableauter, 462.  
 tableautin, 67, 154.  
 tablette, 485.  
 tablier, 157<sup>1</sup>.  
 tabouret, 485.  
 †tace (*pt. of taire*), 373.  
 tâcheron, 461.  
 Taillefer, 844.  
 taire, se taire (*and pts. of*), 100,  
   325, 362, 364, 373, 688, 693-5.  
 †taisir (= taire), 688.  
 †taist (*pt. of taire*), 100.  
 †talpe, 151.  
 tamis, 510.  
 tandis, 377.  
 tangible, 493.  
 tant, 147<sup>1</sup>, 208, 377, 384, 601<sup>2</sup>, 835.  
 tant que, 725.  
 tant . . . que, 733.  
 tant s'en faut, 298.  
 tant y a, 298, 619.

- tant y a que, 698.  
 tante, 351, 444, 611.  
 †tanz (*pl. of tant*), 601.  
 taon, 114.  
 tapis-vert, 403.  
 tapoter, 490.  
 tardif, 483.  
 tartufe, Tartuffe, 446, 530.  
 (le) Tasse, 232.  
 (un) tête-mes-poules (*Picard*), 442.  
 (à) tâtons, 794.  
 taupe, 151.  
 taureau, 67, 98, 255, 455, 484.  
 †taz (*pl. of taire*), 325.  
 te, 67, 94, 133, 289, 292, 634 (*see also tu*).  
 Te Deum, 494.  
 †tei (= toi, *which see also*), 97, 141, 292, 304.  
 †teille (= toile), 108.  
 teindre, 119.  
 teinture, 481.  
 †teil (= toit), 102.  
 tel, -le, 103, 115, 138, 206, 209, 271, 380; tel quel, 208; tel que, 585.  
 tempe, 129.  
 †temple (= tempe), 129.  
 †tempre (= tempe), 129.  
 †temprer (= tremper), 130.  
 temps, *see* †tems.  
 †tems (= temps), 222, 226.  
 tenaille, 471.  
 — (séance) tenante, 772.  
 (les) tenants (*partic. of tenir and subs.*), 448; les tenants et aboutissants, 772.  
 tendant, -e (*pls. of tendre*), 772.  
 †tendeie, &c. (*pls. of tendre*), 370.  
 †tendra (*pl. of tenir*), 119.  
 †tendrai, &c. (*pls. of tenir*), 365, 374.  
 tendre (= *tendere, vb., pls. of*), 342, 370, 374, 772.  
 4endre (= *tenerum, adj.*), 91, 119, 272, 485.  
 tendrelet, 485.  
 tendron, 250, 475.  
 ténèbres, 577.  
 †tenebros, 132.  
 †teneiz (*pl. of tenir*), 107.  
 ténia, 240.  
 tenir (*and pls. of*), 107, 111, 119, 328, 334, 337-8, 340, 361, 365, 368, 374, 388, 448, 450, 772; (*as declar. vb.*), 715; (*3<sup>rd</sup> en*) tenir là, †(se) tenir là, 636; tenir tête, 611.  
 †tenoiz (*pl. of tenir*), 107.  
 †tenra (*pl. of tenir*), 119.  
 tentateur, -atrice (*subs. and adj.*), 254, 447.  
 tente, 364, 450.  
 tenter, 737.  
 tenture, 433.  
 terrasse, 468.  
 terrain, 205.  
 terre, 95, 116, 413, 608.  
 terrestre, 579.  
 †teirrin, 579.  
 terrine, 475.  
 terzain, -e, 204-5.  
 tes, 132, 306, 641 (*see also ton*).  
 †teste, 117, 149, 354.  
 tête, 66, 117, 149, 354, 558.  
 tête-de-mort, 404.  
 têtû, 482.  
 †teu (*pl. of taire*), 364.  
 †teue, -s (= *tienne, -s*), 304.  
 théâtral, 282.  
 théatricule, 495.  
 †ti (= toi), 302.  
 ti (*exclamatory particle, pop.*), 327.  
 tibia, 240.  
 tic-tac, 444.  
 ticket, 509.  
 tiède, 95.  
 tien, -s, -ne, -nes, 181, 303-4, 307, 641, 642.  
 †(je) tien (*pl. of tenir*), 325.  
 tiendra (*pl. of tenir*), 119.  
 tiens! (*pl. of tenir*), 388, 450.  
 (un) tiens-toi-bien, 442.  
 tierce, 203, 277.  
 tiers, 77<sup>2</sup>, 202<sup>1</sup>, 203, 277.  
 †tierz (= tiers), 277.  
 tige, 249.  
 tignasse, 468.  
 tigre, -sse, 255, 484.  
 tilde, 563.  
 tilleul, 470.  
 timbre, 539.  
 timbre-poste, 394, 436, 539.  
 timbre-quittance, 435-6, 539.  
 timbrer, 539.  
 †tins (*pl. of tenir*), 361.  
 †tiois (= *German*), 32.  
 tirer de peine, 610.

- tisserand, 462.  
 titre, 563.  
 toi, 74, 97, 141, 202, 304; (*accented use*), 181, 289, 628.  
 †toie, -s (= *tienne*, -nes), 304.  
 toile, 108.  
 toilette, 108.  
 toise, 363, 450.  
 toit, 102.  
 †toldre (= *to take away*), 340.  
 tôle, 551, 562.  
 †tollir (= *to take away*), 340.  
 tombe, 483-4.  
 tombeau, 483-4.  
 tomber (*and plts. of*), 408, 685, 713.  
 ton (*poss. pron.*), 137, 302-3, 306, 641-6 (*see also ta, tes*).  
 tondaison, 476.  
 tondre, 476.  
 tonne, 484.  
 tonneau, 484.  
 †tonnel, 509<sup>1</sup>.  
 tonner, 698.  
 †tor (= *taurum, bull*), 98.  
 †tor, -s (= *turrem, tower*), 98, 143, 258, 459.  
 torchis, 469.  
 tordre, 119.  
 †torn (= *lower*), 258-9, 459.  
 †turner (= *turner*), 105.  
 torréfier, 497.  
 tort, 158.  
 tortue, 468.  
 touchant (*partic. and prep.*), 385, 449.  
 toucher (*and plts. of*), 680 (*see also touchant*).  
 toujours, 380.  
 tour (*f., lower*), 95, 143, 258, 459.  
 †tourbler (= *troubler*), 130.  
 tourner, 105, 462.  
 tourniquet, 462.  
 tourte, †tourte, 484.  
 tourterelle, 484.  
 †tous jours, 380.  
 toussailler, 490.  
 (la) Toussaint, 242, 401, 613.  
 tousser, 340; †le tousser, 735.  
 †toussir, 339.  
 tout (*adj. and adv.*), tous, toute, -s, 162, 206, 209, 257, 259, 275, 384, 589, 590-1, 613-4, 733; tout . . . que, 733.  
 toute-bonne (*f. of tout-bon*), 407.  
 toutefois, 380, 613.  
 tout-puissant, toute-puissante, 406-7.  
 †toutes voies, 380, 613.  
 †tous (= *tous*), 257.  
 traduire, 431.  
 tragi-comique, 503<sup>1</sup>.  
 trahir, 411, 431.  
 trahison, 476.  
 train-poste, 436.  
 †trair (= *trahir*), 411.  
 traité, 106.  
 traïter, *see* †traïtier.  
 †traïteur (= *traitre*), 253.  
 †traïtier (= *traïter, and plts. of*), 106, 348.  
 †traïtiet (= *traité, partic. and subs.*), 106.  
 †traïtiz, 469.  
 †traïtor (= *traitre*), 253.  
 traïtre, -sse, 224, 252-3.  
 †traïtreuse, 253.  
 traïtreusement, 253.  
 tranchée (*partic. and subs.*), 449.  
 transfuser, 496.  
 transgression, 540.  
 transversal, 282.  
 travail, -aux, 78, 257, 260 (*see also* †travails).  
 travailleur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 †travails, 155, 260.  
 †travaus, 155.  
 travaux, 257.  
 trébucher, 431.  
 †trei, -s (= *trois*), 195, 203.  
 †treisisme (= *troisième*), 203.  
 treizième, *see* †trezime.  
 trembler (*and plts. of*), 119, 326, 344.  
 trembleur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 trémie, 161.  
 tremper, 130.  
 †tremaie (= *trémie*), 161.  
 trente, 127, 197; trente et un, trente deux, 599.  
 trépasser, 284-5, 431.  
 Trépied par Étaples, 402.  
 trépointe, 431.  
 très (*prep. and prefix*), 284-5, 384, 409, 431, 433, 835.  
 †tresjeter, 431.  
 †tresmaer, 431.  
 †tresque (*syn. of jusqu'à ce que*), 726.  
 tressaillir, 409, 431.  
 tressauter, 409.



treuil, 130.  
 †treuve (*pt. of trouver*), 335, 337.  
 treize, 194.  
 †treze, 194.  
 †trezime (= treizième), 304.  
 tric-trac, 444.  
 trifolié, 500.  
 trillion, 200, 201.  
 triomphe (*m. and f.*), 234, 447.  
 †trist (= triste, *m.*), 273.  
 triste, 273, 802, 833.  
 tristesse, 483.  
 †trobador, -s (*Prov.*), 25<sup>1</sup>.  
 †trobair (*Prov.*), 25<sup>1</sup>.  
 †trobar (*Prov.*, = trouver), 25<sup>1</sup>.  
 †troi, 195.  
 trois, 195-6, 203; trois cents, 407.  
 troisième, 203.  
 †troisisme, 203.  
 trois-mâts, 405.  
 trois-pieds, 405.  
 trois-ponts, 405.  
 trompette (*m. and f.*), 247, 447.  
 tronçon, 476.  
 trône, 531.  
 trop (*adv. and prefix*), 193, 432, 433.  
 814, 809; trop . . . pour que, 725.  
 trop-plein, 432.  
 trotte-mennu, 442, 578.  
 trottin, 475.  
 troubadour, 25.  
 troubler, 130.  
 troupe, 192-3.  
 troupeau, 192.  
 †trousse-ta-queue (= *chambermaid*), 440.  
 †trouveor, -s, 220.  
 trouver (*and pts. of*), 25<sup>1</sup>, 325, 335, 337; se trouver, 697, 708; il se trouve, 697; trouver moyen, 610.  
 trouvère, 25<sup>1</sup>, 220.  
 trouveur, 25<sup>1</sup>, 93.  
 †troveor, -s, 25<sup>1</sup>, 93.  
 †trovere, 25<sup>1</sup>.  
 truchement, 191, 522, 523<sup>1</sup>.  
 †truve (*pt. of trouver*), 335.  
 truie, 128, 255, 291-2.  
 †(je) truis (*pt. of trouver*), 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 tu (*pt. of taire*), 364.  
 tu (*pers. pron.*), 63<sup>2</sup>, 96, 181, 291-2, 633-4; (†*accented use*), 291-2, 624-5.  
 tu autem, 494.

†tuen, -s (= tien, -s), 302-  
 tuer, 706.  
 tulle, 446.  
 tunnel, 509<sup>1</sup>.  
 turc, -s, turque (*adj. and subs.*), 257, 273, 447.  
 †turs (= turcs), 257.

U.

†ueil (= oeil), 124, 261.  
 †(l')uette (= lnette), 443.  
 †uidme (= huitième), 204.  
 †uille, 196<sup>1</sup>.  
 †uis (= huis), 196<sup>1</sup>.  
 †uit (= huit), 101, 194, 196.  
 †uitiesme, 204.  
 †uitisme, 204.  
 ukase, 516.  
 ulcère, 237.  
 ultérieur, -c, 279.  
 ultimatum, 191.  
 ultramontain, 500.  
 ultraroyaliste, 500.  
 umble (*fish*), 68.  
 un, une (*numeral and article*), 194-6, 201-2, 206-7, 209, 263, 407, 577, 599, 601, 604, 606, 611, 613 (*see also* uns, unes).  
 un (de ceux, &c.), 782, 783.  
 †ung (= un), 194, 196<sup>1</sup>.  
 unième, 196, 202.  
 †uniement, 158.  
 uniment, 158.  
 unique, 592, 724.  
 uniréfringent, 497.  
 †universal, -aux (*adj.*), 260.  
 universaux (*subs.*), 260.  
 universel, 260.  
 uns, unes, 194, 577, 599, 604 (*see also* un, une).  
 †uns (*use as numer. adj.*), 194<sup>1</sup>, 577, 599, 604 (*see also* un, une).  
 †uoof (= ceuf), 96.  
 user, 684.  
 ustensile, 237.  
 †util (= utile, *m.*), 273.  
 utile, 273.

V.

va! (*pt. of aller*), 450; va da! 388.  
 (un) va-comme-je-te-pousse, 442.

- (un) va-t'en-si-tu-peux, 440.  
 (un) va-t'en-voir-s'illa-vicement, 442.  
 vache, 124, 255.  
 vacher, 144, 461, 477.  
 vacheron, 461.  
 †vachier, 144.  
 vade-mecum, 441.  
 vague (*subs., m. and f.*), 66, 243, 570.  
 vain, -e, 278.  
 vaincre (*pls. of*), 119, 124, 363, 373-4, 707.  
 vaincu (*pl. of vaincre*), 707.  
 vainqueur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 †vains, †vaint (*pls. of vaincre*), 374.  
 †vair, 100, 110.  
 vais (*pl. of aller*), 92<sup>1</sup>, 322, 325<sup>1</sup>, 352.  
 vaisseau, 528.  
 val (*pl. vaux, which see also*), 189, 242, 271, 481. [*The pl. vals is recent.*]  
 valable, 473.  
 †valdra (*pl. of valoir*), 119.  
 †valdrai (*pl. of valoir*), 338.  
 valetaille, 456, 474.  
 valcureux, 108.  
 vallée, 481.  
 valoir, 684; (*pls. of*), 103, 119, 151, 338, 363, 365, 368.  
 †valt (*pl. of valoir*), 338.  
 vandale, 447.  
 vantail, -aux, 260, 471.  
 vantard, 220<sup>1</sup>.  
 †vanteur, -s, 220.  
 †vantère, 220.  
 vapeur, 241.  
 variante (*partic. and subs.*), 448.  
 (je) vas (*pl. of aller*), 352.  
 vase (*f., -s, vase, mire*), 513.  
 †vat (*pl. of aller*), 352.  
 Vancluse, 271.  
 vaudenier, 442.  
 vaudra (*pl. of valoir*), 119.  
 †vaux (*pl. of val*), 152.  
 vaurien, 442.  
 vaut (*pl. of valoir*), 103.  
 Vanvert, 271.  
 vau (*pl. of val*), 152; par monts et par vau, 242.  
 †vax (*abbrev. for †vaux, pl. of val*), 152.  
 véca, -e (*pls. of vivre*), 779; être véca (*and pls. of*), 707.  
 vécut (*pl. of vivre*), 594.  
 †vedeir (= voir), 104, 145, 365.  
 †vedrai (*pl. of voir*), 338, 365.  
 †veeir (= voir), 145.  
 végétal, 190.  
 véhémence, 270.  
 véhémentement, 270, 381.  
 †veiage (= voyage), 467.  
 veiller, *see* †veillier.  
 †veillier, 144.  
 †veins, †veint (*pls. of vaincre*), 374.  
 †veintre (= vaincre), 119, 124, 373-4.  
 †veisin (= voisin), 105.  
 †veiture (= voiture), 106.  
 veloutine, 475.  
 velu, 40<sup>2</sup>.  
 venaison, 476.  
 †venc (*pl. of vaincre*), 374.  
 vendable, 472-3.  
 verdeur (*subs. and adj.*), 447.  
 †vendicé, †vendiet (*pls. of vendre*), 11 *note*.  
 †vendra (*pl. of venir*), 119, 338.  
 vendre (*and pls. of*), 10<sup>1</sup>, 342, 374, 472; se vendre, 708.  
 vendredi, 119, 400.  
 †vendresdi, 119.  
 (un) venez-y voir, 440.  
 vengeance, 487.  
 venger (*and pls. of*), 127, 479.  
 vengeresse, 252, 480.  
 vengeur, 479, 480.  
 †vengier, 127.  
 venir (*and pls. of*), 47, 91, 96, 104, 119, 322, 334, 338, 361, 374, 682, 702-3, 711, 768, 838, 841; †s'en venir, 702-3.  
 †venques, -ons (*pls. of vaincre*), 374.  
 †venra (= viendra), 119.  
 vent-coulis, 277<sup>1</sup>, 469.  
 vente, 363, 450.  
 ventilateur (*subs. and adj.*), 448.  
 ventru, 482.  
 (la) Vénus, 605.  
 †veoir (= voir), 104, 145-6, 338.  
 répres, 577, 608.  
 ver, -s, 257-8.  
 †verai (= vrai), 465.  
 (le) Verbe, 559.  
 verdâtre, 488.  
 †verde (= verte), 275.  
 verdure, 241, 455, 489.  
 verdoyer, 114, 491.

- verdure, 481.  
 verger, 101.  
 †vergier, 101.  
 vergne, 510.  
 vergue, 517.  
 véritable, 457, 472.  
 vérité, 482-3.  
 †verm (= ver), 257, 259.  
 vermeil, -le, 274.  
 vermoulu, 440.  
 vermoulu, 515.  
 verrai (*pt. of voir*), 365.  
 verrat, 28<sup>2</sup>, 484.  
 verre, 531.  
 verroterie, 485.  
 verrou, -x, 155, 471.  
 †verrouils, 155.  
 verrue, 468.  
 vers (*prop.*), 384, 386, 790, 817.  
 vers (= *verse*), 195 *note*.  
 Versailles, 232.  
 versificateur, 497.  
 versification, 497.  
 versifier, 497.  
 vert, -e, 241, 268, 271, 275, 491.  
 †verté (= *vérité*), 482-3.  
 vert-foncé, 436<sup>1</sup>.  
 vert-pomme, 436.  
 vert-pré, 436.  
 vertex, 494.  
 vertu, 87, 96, 115, 147, 190; *vertus*  
     cardinales, 193.  
 vertueux, 268.  
 — †vertuos (= *vertueux*), 268.  
 †vertut, 96, 115, 147.  
 verve, 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 verveine, 104, 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 vesce (= *velch*), 469<sup>1</sup>.  
 †vescut (*pt. of vivre*), 594.  
 †vesti (*pt. of vêtir*), 364<sup>1</sup>.  
 Vétillard, 487.  
 vétille, 474.  
 vêtir (*pts. of*), 341, 357-9, 364<sup>1</sup>.  
 veuille, 712, 841; veuillez, 710;  
     venillons, 710 (*pts. of vouloir*).  
 veux-je (*pt. of vouloir*), 327.  
 viable, 472.  
 viaduc, 497.  
 viande, 70, 129, 146, 354<sup>2</sup>, 486, 541.  
 vice versa, 494.  
 vice-président, 432.  
 vicomte, 248, 432.  
 victoria, 446.  
 †vidame, 432.  
 vide, 273.  
 vider, 161.  
 vie, 188.  
 vieil, -le, 39, 124, 251 (*see also vieux*).  
 vieillard, 251.  
 vicillesse, 483.  
 vieillot, -le, 275, 485.  
 †(je) vien (*pt. of venir*), 325.  
 viendra (*pt. of venir*), 119.  
 vienne, -nt (*pts. of venir*), 47, 711, 841.  
 viens (*pt. of venir*), 322.  
 vient (*pt. of venir*), 91, 96.  
 vierge, 224.  
 vieux, 251, 268 (*see also vieil*);  
     vieux-rose, 591.  
 vif, vive, 275.  
 †vifve (= *vive*), 275.  
 vigne, 109, 240, 456.  
 vigneron, 461.  
 vil, -e, -s, 154, 196<sup>1</sup>, 273.  
 vilain, 464, 474, 832; en vilaine  
     posture, 613.  
 vilebrequin, 441, 513.  
 vilénie, 463.  
 villageois, 486.  
 ville, 530, 541, 559.  
 Villefort, 270.  
 Villefranche, 398.  
 Villeneuve-la-Guyard, 401.  
 Villeneuve-le-Roi, 401.  
 Villeréal, 271<sup>1</sup>.  
 †vilté, 154.  
 vin, 191, 226, 456.  
 vinaigre, 394, 396, 398.  
 vingt, 127, 197, 599, 600, 601;  
     †vingt et trois, 407; vingt et un,  
     †une, 407, 599, 601.  
 vingtaine, 474.  
 vingt-cinq, 205.  
 vingt-et-quatrième, 204.  
 vingt-huit, 196.  
 vingtième, 204.  
 vingt-quatrième, 204.  
 vingt-trois, 407.  
 vins (*pt. of venir*), 361.  
 †vint (= *vingt*), 127, 197, 601.  
 †vintisme (= *vingtième*), 204.  
 violemment, 382.  
 violet (*subs. and adj.*), violette (*subs.*  
     *and adj.*), 447.  
 vipère, 254.  
 †vire-brequin (= *vilebrequin*), 441.

(des) Virgiles, 572.  
 virginal, 282, 579.  
 †virgine (= virginem), 224.  
 vis (*pl. of voir*), 361.  
 †vis (= visum, *syn. of visage*), 33, 196.  
 †viscomte (= vicomte), 432.  
 †visdame (= vidame), 432.  
 visigoth, 447.  
 †vit (= vide, *m. of adj.*), 273.  
 vite (*adj. and adv.*), 377.  
 viticole, 497.  
 vitrage, 468.  
 vitrail, -aux, 260, 455, 471.  
 Vitry, 100.  
 †vius (= vils), 154.  
 †vinté (= †vilté), 154.  
 †vivandier, 250.  
 (en son) vivant (*pl. of vivre*), 769.  
 vive (*sem. of vil*), 275.  
 vive! -nt! (*pls. of vivre*), 713, 841.  
 vivre (*and pls. of*), 451, 594, 683, 686, 688, 707, 713, 735, 769, 779, 841; †vivre, 688.  
 (les) vivres, 451, 735.  
 †voer (= vouer), 291.  
 †(je) voi (*pl. of voir*), 325.  
 voici, 328<sup>1</sup>, 736.  
 voilà, 328-9, 736; voilà -t-il? (*famil.*), 329.  
 voir (= videre, *and pls. of*), 104, 145-6, 325, 338, 352, 361, 365, 450, 694, 705, 736-42, 772-3, 778, 847; voir clair, 377.  
 voir, voire (= verum; *adv., obs. as adj.*), 465.  
 †vois (= vocem, voix), 222.  
 †(je) vois (*pl. of aller*), 92<sup>1</sup>, 325<sup>1</sup>, 352.  
 voisin, 105, 832.  
 voiture, 106.  
 voix, 102, 123, 222 (*see also †vois*).  
 voiz (= voix), 102, 123, 141.  
 vol (*theft*), 461.  
 vol (*flight*), 544.  
 volage, 467.  
 voler (= volare, *to fly*), 111.  
 volerean, 461.  
 voleur, 461.  
 volontariat, 496.  
 volontiers, 377.  
 vont (*pl. of aller*), 331<sup>1</sup>, 352.  
 vos, *pl. of votre, which see*.

†vos (= vous), 292, 623.  
 Vosges, 189, 232, 607<sup>1</sup>.  
 †vostre, -s (*atomic*) (= votre), 267, 305.  
 †vostre, -s (*accented*) (= le vôtre), 267, 305, 641, 642.  
 votre, 305-6, 641-2 (*see also †vostre atomic*).  
 (le, -s) vôtre, -s, 306-7, 641-2 (*see also †vostre accented*).  
 vouer, 291.  
 vouloir (*and pls. of*), 327, 335, 363, 365, 704, 710, 712, 717, 736, 738, 777, 841; (*as auxiliary in future*), 321<sup>1</sup>; (le mauvais) vouloir, 451; †vouloir à (= en vouloir à), 636; vouloir bien (= to admit), 714.  
 voulu (*pl. of vouloir*), 777.  
 vous, 292, 629, 633, 634.  
 †vcx (*abbrev. for vous*), 152.  
 voyable, 472.  
 voyage, 454, 467.  
 (couleur) voyante (*pl. of voir*), 772.  
 voyons! (*pl. of voir*), 450.  
 †voz (= vos), 305.  
 vrai (*subst. and adj.*), 445, 465; il est vrai, 714, 720.  
 †vralement, 158.  
 vraiment, 158, 384.  
 vu, -e, -s (*pls. of voir*), 773, 778.  
 †vuider (= vider), 161.

## W.

wagon, 509.  
 wisigoth, 447.

## Y.

y, 298, 376, 384, 628, 636, 639, 640, 698, 836, 847; y aller de, (il) y va de, 639; y avoir, (il) y a, 639; (n')y voir goutte, 639; (vous n')y êtes pas, 639.  
 yacht, 77.  
 Ydain, 222 *note*.  
 †Yde, 222 *note*.  
 yeuse, 190, 240.  
 yeux, 78, 261.  
 yôle, 78.

## Z.

zigzag, 444.

# INDEX OF PREFIXES

THE general typographical conventions given on p. 857 (under 6.) are observed, but Latin and Greek prefixes used in French in their original form are printed in Roman type.

References are given exceptionally to prefixes not mentioned explicitly, but included in compound words on the page quoted.

## A.

- a- (= ab, abs), 415.
- a- (*Greek privative*), 503.
- a-, à- (= ad), 411, 414, 416-7, 427, 429, 432, 437.
- ab-, 411, 415, 418, 497.
- abs-, 415.
- ad- (*including ac-, af-, ag-, al-, ap-, ar-, as-, at-*), 410, 414, 416, 432, 497.
- af- (= *fains*, *in aine*), 418.
- fains-, fainx-, 418.
- amphi-, 503.
- tan- (*as in tangerde* = ante), 418, 432.
- an- (*Greek privative*), 503.
- ana-, 503.
- ant- (= ante-), 418, 432.
- ante-, 417-8, 432, 498.
- anthropo-, 502.
- anti- (= *Lat. ante*, *which see*).
- anti- (*Greek*), 503-4.
- apo-, 504.
- \* après-, 241, 427, 432, 437.
- archi-, 504.
- \* arrière-, 412, 429, 432-3, 437, 439.
- tas- (= *abs- in taster*), 415.
- av- (= *apud*, *in avec*), 508.
- \* avant-, 411-2, 418, 432, 437, 439.

## B.

- ba-, 419, 432.
- bar-, 419, 432.
- bas-, 419, 432.
- be-, 419, 432.
- ben- (= bene-), 418.

- bene-, bène-, 418, 432, 500.
- bes-, bé- (*in bévue*), 411, 419, 432.
- \* bien-, 411-2, 418, 432.
- bis-, 418, 432, 500.

## C.

- ca-, 419, 432.
- cal-, 419, 432.
- calem-, 419, 432.
- cali-, 419, 432.
- cata-, 504.
- centi-, 502<sup>1</sup>.
- chari-, 419, 432.
- chez-, 437.
- chrono-, 502.
- circon- (= *circum-*), 498.
- circum-, 411, 498.
- cis-, 498.
- co-, 420, 498.
- col-, 420, 498.
- coli-, 419, 432.
- com-, 420, 432, 439, 498.
- con-, 410, 412, 420, 432, 439, 498.
- contra-, 410-1, 419, 432, 498.
- \* contre-, 410-2, 419-20, 432, 437-9.
- cor-, 420, 498.
- crypto-, 502.
- cum-, 411, 420, 432, 439, 498.

## D.

- de-, dé- (= *Lat. de*), 410, 420-1, 427, 432, 438, 498 (*see also de in word-index*).
- dé- (= *Lat. dis-*), *see des-, dés-, dé-*.
- déci-, 502<sup>1</sup>.

\* For uses of this particle otherwise than as a prefix, *see word-index*.

des-, dés-, dé- (= *Lat. dis-*); 410-2,  
413-4, 420-2, 432.  
di- (= *Lat. dis-*), 421, 498.  
di- (= *Greek dis-*), 504.  
dis-, 504.  
dis- (*Lat.*), 410-1, 420-2, 432, 498.  
dis- (*Greek*), 504.  
dys-, 505.

## E.

e-, é-, 410-1, 414, 422, 432, 498.  
ec-, 505.  
eis- (*eis*), 506.  
electro-, 502.  
em- (= *in-, Lat. prep.*), 412-4, 422,  
432, 438.  
em- (= *inde*), 424, 432.  
em- (= *Greek em- for en-*), 505.  
\*en- (= *in, Lat. prep.*), 402, 411-2,  
414, 423, 432, 438.  
\*en- (= *inde*), 424, 432.  
en- (= *in-, negative particle*), 423-4.  
en- (= *Greek en-*), 505.  
end- (= *inde*), 424.  
endo-, 505.  
\*ent- (= *inde*), 424, 432.  
ento-, 505.  
\*entre-, 411, 413, 424-5, 432, 437-9.  
epi-, épi-, 505.  
†es- (= *ex*), 410-1, 422, 432.  
eu-, 505.  
év- (= *eu-*), 505.  
ex- (*Lat.*), 410-1, 422, 432, 438,  
498.  
ex- (*Greek*), 505.  
exo-, 505.  
extra-, 498.

## F.

fan-, faux- (*for fors-*), 422.  
for- (= *fors-, which see*).  
foris-, 422.  
\*fors-, 411, 414, 422-3, 432, 438-9.  
†four-, †foura- (= *fors-, which see*).

## G.

gastr-, gastro-, 502.

## H.

hémato-, 502.  
hémi-, 502.  
hor-, hors-, 422-3, 432, 438 (*see also*  
*hors in word-index*).  
hydro-, 502.  
hyper-, 505.  
hypo-, 506.

## I.

in- (= *in, prep., in composition often*  
= *im-, ig-, il-, ir-*), 410, 422,  
432, 498.  
in- (= *in-, negative particle, in com-*  
*position = im-, &c.*), 423-4, 499.  
inde-, 424, 432.  
inter-, 411, 424, 432, 499.  
intra-, 499.  
intro-, 499.  
is-, 506.

## M.

\*mal-, 411, 418, 432.  
male-, malé-, 418, 432, 500.  
man-, *see mal-*.  
mé-, 425, 432.  
mes-, mēs-, 412, 425, 432.  
meso-, méso-, 502.  
meta-, méta-, 506.  
\*mi- (*as in Mi-Carême, &c.*), 242.  
milli-, 502.  
minus-, 425, 432.  
\*moins-, 425, 432.

## N.

†neent-, 424.  
neo-, néo-, 502.  
†nient-, 424.  
\*non-, 411-2, 424-6, 432.

## O.

o- (= *ob-*), 426.  
ob-, 410, 426, 499.  
oo- (= *ob, in tocir, toecir, ool-*  
*dere*), 426.  
†oltre- (= *oultre-*), 432.  
osteo-, ostéo-, 502.  
ou- (= *ob- in oublier, &c.*), 426.  
\*outre-, 411, 432, 438.

\* For uses of this particle otherwise than as a prefix, *see word-index*.

P.

paene, 499.  
 paleo-, paléo-, 502.  
 palim-, *see* palin-.  
 palin-, 506.  
 \*par-, 409, 426-7, 432, 438, 687.  
 para-, 506.  
 pén- (= paene), 499.  
 per-, 409, 410, 426, 432, 499, 506.  
 peri-, péri-, 506.  
 philo-, 502.  
 photo-, 502.  
 \*plus-, 427, 433.  
 \*por- (= pro), 427.  
 post-, 427, 433, 499.  
 \*pour-, 409, 412, 427-8, 438, 438, 499.  
 prae-, 427, 433, 499.  
 praeter-, 499.  
 préter- (= praeter), 499.  
 pré- (= prae), 427, 433, 499.  
 pres- (= pressus, près), 427, 433  
 (*see also* près *in word-index*).  
 presque-, 427, 433.  
 pressus-, 427, 432-3.  
 pro- (*Lat.*), 409, 410, 427, 433, 499.  
 pro- (*Greek*), 506.  
 pros-, 507.  
 pseudo-, 502.  
 pul- (= puls, *in* painé), 427.  
 \*puls-, 427, 433.

Q.

quadri-, 500.  
 quasi-, 500.  
 quinti-, 500.

R.

r- (= re-), 428, 433.  
 ra-, 429.  
 re- (*and* red-), ré-, 410-1, 428-9, 433, 500.  
 retro-, rétro-, 429, 433, 500.  
 \*triere-, 429, 433.

S.

\*sans-, 430, 433, 437-8.  
 satis-, 500.  
 se- (= se-), 411, 429.  
 se- (= sub, sous), 430.  
 tseur-, 430.  
 sine-, 430, 433.  
 tsor-, 430.  
 tsore-, 430.  
 sou- (= sub), 430.  
 sou- (= subtus), 430.  
 sour- (= super), 430.  
 \*sous- (= subtus), 411, 414-5, 430, 433, 437-9.  
 tsovre-, 430.  
 \*tsor- (= subtus), 411, 430.  
 sub-, 410, 430, 500.  
 subtus-, 410-1, 430, 433.  
 super-, 411, 430, 433, 500, 504.  
 supra-, 430, 433, 500, 596.  
 \*sur-, 411-3, 415, 430-1, 433, 438-9, 687.  
 sursum-, 411, 431, 433.  
 \*sus-, 411, 430-1, 433.  
 susum-, 431, 433.  
 syn-, 507.

T.

thermo-, 502.  
 tra-, 411, 431.  
 trans-, 409, 431, 433, 500.  
 tras- (*Pop. Lat.*), 431.  
 tré-, tres-, 409, 431, 433 (*see also* très *in word-index*).  
 tri-, 500.  
 \*trop-, 432-3.

U.

ultra-, 432, 500, 596.

V.

vi-, 432.  
 vice-, 432-3, 500.  
 vis-, vi-, 432-3.

\* For uses of this particle otherwise than as a prefix, *see word-index*.

## INTERCALATED CONSONANTS AND SYLLABLES

- b- (*between m and r, l, n*), 119-120.
- p-, 462.
- d- (*between l, n, s and r*), 119-120;  
    (*in échauder*), 461-2.
- c- (*before -té*), 481-3.
- cl-, 460 (*see also -clet, -elette*).
- cr-, *see* -creau, -erelle, -eret, -erette,  
    -eresse, -erol, -eron, &c.
- er- (= -eur, -orem, *max. subs. suff.*  
    *becomes medial*), 464.
- et-, 460, 475, 481.
- o-, 495.
- ch-, 475.
- oo-, 353.
- ll- (= -ille), 460, 462, 475.
- iq-, 462.
- is-, 353.
- iso-, 353-4.
- iss-, -is- (*verb-tenses in*), 353, 359.
- l- (*in chauler*), 461-2.
- ll-, 462.
- r-, 461.
- ss-, 462.
- t- (*between n, s and r*), 119-120.
- t- (*for -et-*), 460.
- t- (*in interrog. vbs., e.g. aime-t-il*),  
    328-9.
- t- (*as in abriter, due to false analogy*),  
    461.
- v-, 462.



## INDEX OF SUFFIXES AND TERMINATIONS

IN the course of the book it has been found convenient (without any fixed rule) to refer to Latin suffixes in either the nominative or the accusative, and in either the Classical or the Popular form (e.g. *nom. -aoulus*, *acc. -aoulum*, and the Popular *acc. -aoulu*; *nom. -alis*, *acc. -alem*, and the Popular *acc. -ale*) (see p. 114). The Popular forms are given here as a rule, with Classical forms where necessary. For feminine suffixes in -a, the Classical nominative and Popular nominative and accusative are identical (see p. 114).

The only flexional suffixes referred to are, for the verb, those of the infinitive and participle; for the noun, the -s of the O.F. *nom. sing.* and *acc. pl.*, and of the modern plural; and the O.F. plural -s. A few 'verb-terminations' formed by the union of the infinitive suffix with the final of the stem are included for special reasons.

References are given, exceptionally, to suffixes not mentioned explicitly, but included in compound words on the page quoted (see, for instance, *-eron*, *-en*, p. 250).

For the use of different kinds of type see p. 857, under 6.

### A.

- a (= -ao), 189, 466.
- abilem, *see* -abilis.
- abilis, -abilem, 457-8, 472, 478.
- able, 272, 457-8, 472-3, 489.
- ac, 189, 465-6.
- aocia (*Ital.*), 469.
- ace (= -aoea, -acia), 468.
- acé, -acté, 495.
- aoea, 468 (*see also* -aoeu).
- aoeu, -aoea, -aoeus, 468, 495.
- ache, 469.
- acia, 468.
- aciū, -aciūs, 468.
- aou, -aoum (*Lat.*), 465.
- aou, -aoum (*Lat., of Gaulish origin*), 465-6 (*see also* -iaoum).
- aoula, 471 (*see also* -aoulu).
- aoulu, -aoulus, 471.
- ade, 489.
- adium, 136.
- †-adiz, 458.
- †-adoir, 458.
- †-ador, 458.
- †-adure, 458, 481.
- age, 136, 191, 240, 414, 454-7, 467, 488-9.
- agne, 489.
- al (= -ao), 189, 466.
- aie (= -eta), 482, 489.
- ail, -aille (= -aoulus, -aoula), 191, 471, 473, 488-9.
- ail (*for* -al in *frontail*, *poitrail*), 462.
- aille (= -aoula), *see* -ail, -aille *above*.
- aille (= -alia, -ilia), 227, 454-473-4, 488 (*see also* -ailles).
- aille (*for* -eille in *ouaille*), 462.
- ailler (*verb. suff.*), 490.
- ailles (*pl. of* -aille = -alia), 577.

- ain, -aine (= -anu, -ana), 415, 474, 488-9; (*as num. suff. replacing*  
-ein, -anu), 204-5, 474.  
-aire (= -ariu), 477, 495.  
-ais, -aise (= -ense), 486, 489.  
-aison, 125, 476, 488-9, 495.  
†-alz, 458.  
-al, 103, 269, 282, 471-2, 488-9, 495; *in* topical, frontal, 462.  
†-ald, 485.  
-ale, -alem, 269, 471, 488 (*see also*  
-al).  
-algie, 502.  
-alia, 227, 473.  
-alis, 495 (*see also* -ale).  
-als (*pl. of* -al, *which see also*), 282.  
†-alt, 485.  
-amen, 463<sup>1</sup> (*see also* -men).  
-amentum, 458, 487.  
-amment (*adv. suffix*), 381.  
-an, 462.  
-ana, *see* -anu.  
-ance, 487, 489, 496.  
-and (*for* -ant *in* chaland, marchand,  
*for* -en *in* tisserand), 462.  
-ande, 486, 489.  
-andrie (*in* buanderie), 486.  
-andier, -andière, 486, 489.  
-andus, -endus, 486.  
-ant, -ante, 270, 281, 381, 486-7, 489, 496.  
-ante, -antem, -antia, 270, 486-7.  
-anu, -ana, 474, 488.  
†-aor, 458.  
†-aor, 458.  
-ard, -arde, 240, 455, 487, 489; (*in*  
homard), 462.  
-are (*subs. and adj. suff.*), 477.  
-are (*vb. suff.*), 97, 144, 338-243  
(*see also* -er).  
-aria, 100 (*see also* -ariu).  
-ariu, -arium, -arina, 100, 107-8, 134, 144, 477, 495.  
-art, *see* -ard.  
-as or -az, -asse (= -aœu, -œciu, -œœa, -œcia), 456, 468-9, 488, 489.  
-as (= -ao), 466.  
-aœœa, 342.  
-asse, *see* -as or -az, -asse, *above*.  
-asser (*vb. suff.*), 490.  
-aster, 488.  
†-astre, 488.  
-at (= -atum), 496.  
-at, -atte (= -ittu, -itta'), 484, 489.  
-ata, -atas, 97 (*see also* -atu, -atum, -atus).  
-ate, 501.  
-ateur, 495.  
-aticium, -aticius, 458, 469.  
-atioum, -atious, 136, 454, 467.  
-ation, 477, 495.  
-ationem, 125, 476, 495.  
-atique (*in* aromatique, &c.), 501.  
-atoire, 495.  
-atorem, 253, 458, 478, 495.  
-atorium, -atorius, -atoria, 458, 480, 495.  
-atos, 97 (*see also* -atus, -atu, -atum).  
-âtre, 488-9.  
-atriosm, 253.  
-atu, -atum, 97, 248, 469, 476, 481, 496, 578.  
-atura, 458, 496.  
-ature, 496.  
-atus, 248 (*see also* -atu, -atum).  
-aud, -aude, 485-6, 489; (*in* cha-  
faud), 462.  
†-aüre, 458.  
-aut, 485-6.  
-auter (*vb. termination*), 461.  
-aux (*pl. of* -al, -ale, *which see also*), 268, 282.  
-ay (= -ao), 189, 466.  
-ay (= -œtu, -œdu), 482, 489.  
-ayer (*vb. suff.*), 491.  
-az (= -aœu, -œciu), 468.
- B.
- bile, 472.
- C.
- cer (*vb. termination*), 351.  
-œœa, 468.  
-ci (= ici), 313, 647.  
-cius, 468.  
-œœu, 414.  
-craie, 502-3.
- E.
- †-e (= -a, *neut. pl.*), 227-8.  
-é (= -ao), 189, 466.

ie, -tes (= -atu, -ata, -atas), 66,  
 97, 414, 481, 489, 496 (*see*  
*-atus*, 248).  
 456, 463.  
 -elle (*subs. suff.*), 191, 461, 483,  
 9; (-eau *for* -ot *in* dalleau), 462.  
 e (= -ata), 97.  
 iz, 469.  
 oir, -edoir (-atorius, -atoria),  
 o.  
 or, 479.  
 ure, 481.  
 = -ata), *see* -é, etc. *above*.  
 = -ous), 495.  
 , -oem, 463<sup>1</sup>.  
 (= -etum, -edu), 482.  
 , 482.  
 ur, 458, 479.  
 teur, 497.  
 tion, 497.  
 (*vb. suff.*), 497.  
 etum, -edu), 482.  
 -etum, -edu), 482.  
 (*vb. suff.* = -oyer), 114.  
 -eille (= -iulus, -ioula), 191,  
 1, 473, 489.  
 (= -ilia, -ilia), 473.  
 (*for* -ille *in* cornelle), 462.  
 (*num. suff.*), 474.  
 (= -atioium), 458, 469.  
 (= -ense), 268, 486.  
 (= -atioium), 458, 469.  
 = -ale), 103, 269, 413, 471-2,  
 8-9, 495.  
 -elle (= -ellus, -ella), 483-4.  
*n* pluriel), 463.  
 (*vb. termination and suff.*), 350,  
 1, 490.  
 -elette, 485.  
 , 473.  
*see* -eau, -elle.  
 a, -ella, 483.  
 it, 455, 458, 487, 489 (*see also*  
*ent, subs. suff.*).  
 ent (*adv. suff.*), 381-2.  
 62.  
 414, 496.  
 as, 486.  
 , -ensem, 268, 486, 488-9.  
 a, 268 (*see also* -ense).  
 270, 281, 381, 496.  
 om, 270, 496.  
 a, 496.

-entus, -enta, 381.  
 -enu, 474.  
 †-coir, †-coire (-atoriu, -atoria),  
 458, 480.  
 -eolu, -eolus, 470 (*see also* -olus).  
 †-eor, 253, 458, 479.  
 -er (= -are, *subs. suff.*), 464, 477.  
 -er (*vb. suff.*), 97, 144, 339-41, 343,  
 349, 413-4, 459, 490, 496.  
 -ère (*vb. suff.*), 339-42, 359.  
 -ère (*vb. suff.*), 339-42, 359.  
 -ereau, -erelle, 461, 484, 489.  
 -erelle (*see* -ereau).  
 -eresse (= -atrioem *and* -er + -esse,  
*from* -issa), 253, 480, 484, 489.  
 -eresse (= -er + -esse, *from* -itia  
*(in* forteresse, écheresse), 483.  
 -eret, -erette, 485.  
 -erie, 461, 464-5, 489.  
 †-eriz, 253.  
 -erol, -erole, -erolle, 455, 461, 470.  
 -eron, 250, 455, 461, 475.  
 -és (*partic. pl. m.* = -atoe), 97.  
 -escoere (*vb. suff.*), 342.  
 -esoo (*Ital.*), 496.  
 -ese (*Pop. for* -ense, *which see*).  
 -esimus, 202.  
 †-esme, 285.  
 -esque, 489, 496.  
 -esse (= -issa), 122<sup>1</sup>, 252-3, 480,  
 484, 488-9.  
 -esse (= -itia), 454-5, 483, 488-9.  
 †-et (= -atum), 97.  
 -et, -ette (= -ittu, -itta), 122<sup>1</sup>, 191,  
 460, 484-5, 489; (*for* -é *in* civet)  
 462.  
 -eta (*pl. of* -etu, -etum, *which see*  
*also*), 482.  
 -été, 482-3.  
 -etée, 481.  
 -eter (*vb. suff.*), 350, 490.  
 -eton, 475 (*see also* -et, p. 930).  
 -ette (= -itta), 455, 484-5, 489 (*and*  
*see* -et *above*); (*for* -elle *in* agrou-  
 ette), 462.  
 -etu, -etum, 481-2.  
 -euil, 457, 470, 489.  
 -eul, -eule, 457, 470, 489.  
 -éum, 463.  
 -eur (*masc. suffix from Latin nouns*  
*in* -torem), 253, 445, 447, 457-8,  
 461-2, 464, 479-80, 484, 488-9,  
 495 (*see also* -er = -eur, p. 930).

-eur (*fem. suffix from Latin nouns in -orum denoting quality*), 241, 248-9, 455, 457-8, 479, 488-9.  
 †-eüre, 458, 481.  
 -ëua, 463, 495.  
 -euse (*fem. of -eur, masc., which see also*), 253, 445, 447, 480, 489.  
 -euse (*fem. of -eux, which see*).  
 -eux, -euse, 253, 268, 462, 479, 480-1, 483, 489.  
 †-ey (= -eo), 189, 466, 489.  
 -eyer (*vb.-suff.*), 491.  
 †-ez (= -atos, -atas), 97.

## F.

-faeuere (*vb. ending in*), 497.

## G.

-game, 502.  
 -gène, 502.  
 -ger (*vb.-termination*), 351.  
 -graphie, 502.

## H.

†-hart, 487.

## I.

-i (*partic. suff.*), 364<sup>1</sup>.  
 -i (*in compounds like héros-comique*), 503<sup>1</sup>.  
 -ia, -ia (*Lat. and Greek*), 108, 252, 457, 463, 464<sup>1</sup>, 501.  
 -iac, 466.  
 -iaoum, 100, 189, 466.  
 †-iai, 466.  
 -ial (= -alis), 495.  
 -iana, 495.  
 -ianus, 495.  
 -ibilia, 457, 472.  
 -ible, 472.  
 -ioa, 456 (*see also -iou, -ious*).  
 -ice, 240, 469, 489.  
 -ioem, 480.  
 -ioen, -ioeus, 468-9.  
 -iche (*dial. or foreign*), 469, 470, 489.  
 -ichon, 475.

-ioiu, -ioius, 468-9.  
 -ioius, 469<sup>1</sup>.  
 -iou (*in -ation*), 467 (*see also -ioa*).  
 -ioula, 471 (*see also -ioulu*).  
 -ioula, 471 (*see also -ioulu*).  
 -icule, 495.  
 -ioulu, -ioulus, 471.  
 -ioulu, -ioulus, 471, 495.  
 -ioum, -ious, 495.  
 -idu, 456.  
 -ie, 108, 414, 457, 461, 463-4, 489, 501.  
 †iei, 100, 466.  
 -iel (= -alis), 495.  
 -ième (*num. suff.*), 193, 202-4.  
 -ien, -ienne, 474, 488-9, 495.  
 -ier, -ière (*subs. suff. = -are*), 460-2, 464, 477.  
 -ier, -ière (*subs. suff. = -ariu, -aria*), 101, 107-8, 144, 465, 477-8, 489, 495.  
 -ier (*vb.-suff.*), 491.  
 -ier (*vb.-suff. = -i + -er*), 496.  
 †ier (*vb.-suff. from palatal + -are*), 348.  
 †iesme (*num. suff.*), 202-4.  
 †ieur (*comp. suff. in †docteur, &c.*), 285<sup>1</sup>.  
 -if, -ive, 483.  
 -ificare (*vb.-suff.*), 497.  
 -ificateur, 497.  
 -ification, 497.  
 -ifier (*vb.-suff.*), 497.  
 -ikos (-icos), 495, 501.  
 -il (= -ille), 472, 489.  
 -il, -ille (= -ioulu, -ioula), 471, 473, 489.  
 -ile, 472.  
 -ile (*adj. ending in*), 273.  
 -ilia, 473.  
 -ilia, 473.  
 -ille (= -ilia), 471, 473-4, 489.  
 -ille (= -ioula), *see* -il, -ille, *above*.  
 -iller (*vb.-suff.*), 490.  
 -illon, 475 (*see also -ill-, p. 930*).  
 †ime (*num. suff.*), 202-4.  
 †ime (*superl. suff. in †doctime, &c.*), 285<sup>1</sup>.  
 -imen, 463<sup>1</sup> (*see also -men*).  
 -in, -ine (= -inu, -ina), 414-5, 474-5, 489.  
 -iner (*vb.-suff. in piétiner*), 490.  
 -inu, -inum, -ina, 474, 578.

-iola, 470.  
 -iolu, -iolus, 470 (*see also* -olus).  
 -ion (= -lone), 476.  
 -lone, 476.  
 -lor, -lorem (*comp. suff.*), 282, 285.  
 -ique (= -lou), 493.  
 -ique (= -lor), 501, 503.  
 -ir (*vb. suff.*), 340-3, 359, 412, 476, 490.  
 -ire (*vb. suff.*), 339, 341-2.  
 †-is (= -aticiu), 458, 469.  
 -is (= -ense, *which see also*), 486, 488-9.  
 -is, -isse (= -loeu, -loju), 469, 482, 489.  
 -isocere (*vb. suff.*), 342.  
 -isous, 496.  
 -ise (= -itia), 457, 483, 488, 489.  
 -iser (*vb. suff.*), 114, 496.  
 -iak (*Germ.*), 486.  
 -isme (*subs. suff.*), 488, 496.  
 †-isme (*num. suff.*), 302-4.  
 †-isme (*superl. suff.*), 285.  
 -iamus, 488, 496.  
 -issa, 252, 480, 484, 489.  
 -isse, *see* -is, -isse and -loeu.  
 -issima, 283.  
 -issime, 285.  
 -issimo (*Ital.*), 285.  
 -issimum, 283, 285.  
 -issimus, 283.  
 -ista, 488, 496.  
 -iste, 488, 496.  
 -itatem, 483, 496.  
 -ite (= -itis), 501.  
 -ite (= -itis), 501.  
 -ité (= -itatem), 483, 496.  
 -ites (-itis), 501.  
 -itia, 454, 483.  
 -itis (-itis), 501.  
 -ittu, -itta, 484.  
 -itum, -ita, &c., 357, 364.  
 -ium, 463, 495.  
 -ius (*comp. suff.*), 283, 463.  
 -ive (*fem. of -if*), 483.  
 -ivu, 483.  
 -ix, 480.  
 †-iz (= -aticiu), 469.  
 †-iz (= -ico), 480.  
 -izare, 114.

## J.

-jan (*Germ.*), 358.

## L.

-lia, 473.  
 -lia, 473.  
 -logie, 502.  
 -logique, 502.  
 -logue, 502.

## M.

-mane, 502.  
 -manic, 502.  
 -men, 115 (*see also* -amen, -imen).  
 -ment (*adv. suff.*), 44<sup>1</sup>, 269-70, 380-2.  
 -ment (*subs. suff.* = -ement, *which see*), 413.  
 -mentu, -mentum, 486 (*see also* -amentum).  
 -mètre, 502.  
 -métric, 502.  
 -métrique, 502.  
 -morphie, 502.  
 -morphisme, 502.

## N.

-nicher (*vb. suff. in* pleurnicher), 490.

## O.

-o (*in compounds like* franco-anglais), 503.  
 -ooa (*Ital.*), 470.  
 -ooio, -ooia (*Ital.*), 470.  
 -oou, -oous, 468, 470.  
 -oche, 470, 489.  
 -ocher (*vb. suff.*), 490.  
 -oou, -oous, 468, 470.  
 -oi (= -etu, -edu), 482.  
 -olde, 502.  
 -oie (= -ota), 482.  
 †-oier (*vb. suff.*), 114.  
 -oir, -oire (*subs. suff.* = -atoriu, -atoria), 455, 457-8, 480, 489, 495.  
 -oir (= *vb. suff.* -ère), 340-1, 342, 359.  
 -ois, -oise, 268, 486, 489.  
 -ol, -ole, 457, 461, 470-1, 489.  
 -old, 485.  
 -ole (*Pop. and Learned*), 470-1, 489.  
 -olle, 470 (*see also* -ole).

-olus, 457 (*see also* -olus, -iolus, -iola).  
 -on (= -one), 250, 414<sup>1</sup>, 460-1, 475-6, 489.  
 -one, 475.  
 -onner (*vb.-suff.*), 490.  
 -or, -ore, -orem (*subs. suff. denoting agent*), 478.  
 -orama, 502.  
 -ore, -orem (*phonetics, generally*), 97.  
 -ore, -orem (*subs. suff., denoting agent*), 478.  
 -ore, -orem (*Lat. comparatives in*), 97, 142.  
 -ore, -orem (*Lat. abstract nouns in*), 241, 478.  
 -orin, -oria, 480.  
 †-os (= -osus), 268.  
 -osa, *see* -osus.  
 -oocore, 342.  
 -ose (-osis), 501.  
 -osis (-osis), 501.  
 -osu, -osum, -osus, -osa, 97, 253, 268, 481.  
 -ot, -otte, 484, 489.  
 -ot (*for* -ol *in* loriot, maillot), 462; (*in* escargot), 463.  
 -oter (*vb.-suff.*), 490; (*for* -ater *in* gargoter), 462.  
 -ou (= -ouil), 471.  
 -ouil, -ouille, 471, 489.  
 -ouiller (*vb.-suff.*), 490.  
 †-our (= -orem, *which see also*), 97.  
 †-ous (= -osum), 97.  
 -out (= -ald), 485.  
 -oy, -ay (= -etu, -edu), 482.  
 -oyer (*vb.-suff.*), 114, 491.

## R.

-re (*vb.-suff.* = -ire), 340-1, 343, 359.

## S.

-s (*nom. sing. and acc. pl. in O.F., pl. in Mod.F.*), 216-21, 256-67 (*see also the sections on number generally*).

-s (*adv. suff.*), 377, 584.  
 -soare, 342.  
 -scope, -scopie, 502.  
 -son, 476.

## T.

-tage, 461.  
 -tate, -tatem, 482.  
 -té (= -tatem), 455, 482-3, 489.  
 -ter (*vb.-suff.*), 461.  
 -terie, 461.  
 -teur, *fem.* -trice, 254, 461.  
 -tier, 461.  
 -trice, *see* -teur.  
 -tude, 495.  
 -tudo, 495.

## U.

-u, -ue (= -uou, -uoa), 468, 488-9.  
 -u, -ue (= -utu, -uta), 364, 482.  
 -ûa, 463.  
 -uoa, *see* -uou.  
 -uou, -uouus, 468, 470.  
 -uche, 470, 489.  
 -uoiu, -uoius, 468, 470.  
 -uou, -uoa, 468.  
 -uoula, 471.  
 -uouu, -uouulus, 471.  
 -uel, 470.  
 -ula, 456 (*see also* -ulu).  
 -ule, 495.  
 -ulu, -ulum, -ula, 456, 495; (*in forms* -aculum, -iculum, -iculum, -iculum), 471, 495.  
 -ulum, 495.  
 -une (= -una), 477.  
 -unu, -una, 477.  
 -ura, 241, 481.  
 -ure, 241, 414, 458, 481, 489, 496.  
 -utu, -utus, -uta, 364, 482.  
 -ûum, 463.  
 -ûus, 463.

## W.

-wald (*Ger.*), 485.  
 -wold (*Ger.*), 485.

## Y.

-y, 100, 189, 466.  
 -yer (*vb.-termination*), 351.

















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